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THE

HISTORY

OF

THE WESTERN EMPIRE;

FROM

ITS RESTORATION

BY

CHARLEMAGNE

TO

THE ACCESSION

OF

CHARLES V.

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ac

BY

SIR ROBERT COMYN.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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THE HISTORY

OF

THE WESTERN EMPIRE.

CHAPTER I.

RESTORATION OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE BY CHARLEMAGNE.

WHILST the degenerate Emperors of the West were hastening to an inglorious extinction, the Barbarians, who had spread themselves over the continent of Europe, were engaged in the formation of new monarchies: and when at last the sword of Odoacer won the crown of Italy, the kingdoms of the Franks, Burgundians, Suevi, and Goths were already established in Gaul and Spain.[1] But the Burgundian kingdom was overwhelmed by the Franks:[2] the Suevi were lost in the Gothic kingdom of Spain;[3] and that kingdom was itself annihilated by the Saracens.[4] In Italy, the Goths

A.D. 476.

[1] The Goths settled in Aquitaine, under their King Adolphus, in 411. The Burgundian kingdom was established in Gaul, under Gundicar, in 413. the Frank kingdom, under Theodomir, in 420. Euric established the Visigoth kingdom in Spain in 476. The Suevi were already settled there.

[2] A. D. 532. [3] A. D. 585. [4] A. D. 714.

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were superseded by the Lombards; the Greek Emperors were enabled to possess themselves of a portion of that kingdom, and the imperial exarchs and governors ruled Ravenna, the Pentapolis, and the southern provinces. Meanwhile the Frank monarchy grew in power and extent, and at length produced a master-spirit, who was destined to reunite the shattered members of the Empire, and to emulate the greatness of the Cæsars.

Though Pepin, King of the Franks, the father of the great Charles, was the first of his race who enjoyed the royal title, the family had long been illustrious, and by degrees absorbed the whole of the sovereign authority. Under them, the dominions of France had been secured and extended; and whilst the feeble successors of Clovis retained the name of King, Europe was taught to regard the Mayors of the Palace as the real monarchs of the kingdom.

Family of Charlemagne.

Pepin the Old.

Pepin d' Heristal.

The first distinguished member of the family appears to have been Pepin, Mayor of Austrasia (under Dagobert I., King of the Franks), who died in 639.[5] Doda, daughter of this Pepin,[6] gave birth to another Pepin, distinguished by the surname of Heristal. Having exchanged the title of Mayor

[5] He was Lord of extensive lands between Hainault and the river Meuse. His son Grimbald succeeded him as Mayor, and even raised his own son, Childebert, for a moment, to the throne. Grimbald died in prison. Père Daniel, Hist. de France, tom. II. p. 31. 4to. Paris, 1755. As to the office of Mayor, see Vertot, Œuvres, tom. V. p. 312. Paris, 1819.

[6] She is also called Bega. Her husband was Anchises, son of St. Arnoul. Vertot, tom. V. p. 314. See Appendix, Table I.

for that of Prince or Duke, the second Pepin governed the province of Austrasia, and by a victory over Thierri III. King of Neustria, gave the final blow to the authority of the Merovingian kings. The power of both these Pepins had been from time to time exerted in subduing the barbarous tribes of Frisons, Allemans, and Sclavonians, who had either revolted from the obedience they reluctantly yielded to the Franks, or threatened the kingdom with invasion. To the latter Pepin is to be attributed the revival of the annual assembly of the Champ de Mars.[7]

690

Charles Martel.

The glory of the family was still farther illustrated by Charles, the natural[8] son of Pepin d'Heristal. On his father's death in 714, Charles found little difficulty in assuming Pepin's rank and authority, and was even powerful enough to dispose of the crown of Austrasia to Clothaire IV.; and subsequently of the whole monarchy of France to Thierri IV.[9] The reign, indeed, of that feeble boy is little more than the history of Charles. Like his ancestors, he repressed the insurgent nations beyond the Rhine; he humbled the Frisons and Saxons; chastised the Allemans, Bavarians, and other Germanic tribes; and subdued Eudes, the powerful and rebellious duke of Aquitaine. But it

717

720.

[7] Père Daniel, tom. II. 57.

[8] According to some writers, Alpaide the mother of Charles was married to Pepin, after he had put away his first wife Plectrude. Art de vérifier les Dates, tom. I. p. 548, folio, Paris, 1783.—This is denied by Bayle, Dict. art. Alpaide.

[9] Daniel, tom. II. 72–75.

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was on his exploits against the Moors or Saracens that the military reputation of Charles was principally founded. Those formidable invaders having overrun Spain soon turned their ravages upon France. In the year 718, Zama, who governed Spain in the name of the Caliph Suliman, invaded Septimania, or Narbonnese Gaul, the last hold of the Visigoths; and penetrating the territories of the duke of Aquitaine, laid siege to Toulouse; where, however, he was utterly defeated and slain.[10] Ambiza, the successor of Zama, in 725 again led the Saracens into Septimania, the greater portion of which, including the capital Narbonne, was subjected to the invaders. Still more terrible incursions were carried on under the Governor Abdulrahman; who advanced without opposition into the very heart of France. It was now that the arms of Charles were turned against the invaders;

732. and in a great battle near Tours, or Poitiers, the Saracens were completely defeated, and compelled to retreat upon their conquests in Septimania.[11] Abdulrahman perished in this memorable engagement; and on this occasion Charles acquired his surname of *Martel*, or the Hammer, indicative of the weight and certainty of his blows. He next laid seige to Narbonne; but the events of the siege are shrouded in darkness; and whatever fortune then befel that city, the final expulsion of the Sara-

[10] Art de vérifier les Dates, tom. I. p. 734.—Gibbon, vol. X. p. 20. According to Paul the Deacon, 375,000 Saracens perished in the battle.

[11] Ann. 732. L'Art de vér. ub. sup.—Mariana, Hist. de España, Lib. VII. c. 3. folio, Madrid, 1669.—Bayle Dict. art Abderahme.

cens from Gaul was reserved for the son of Charles Martel.[12]

The death of Thierri in 737 left the throne vacant; nor did Charles deem it necessary to obscure his own lustre by the shadow of a king. He himself made a peaceful end in 741. Shortly before his death he received from Pope Gregory III., whose territory was grievously harassed by the Lombards, a formal embassy, by which the holy father presented him with the keys of the sepulchre of St. Peter, and exhorted him to fly to his succour; promising to create him consul or patrician of Rome, and to transfer his allegiance from the Emperor of the East to the Duke of France.[13] But Charles was not destined to extend his dominion into Italy; and it remained for his grandson to establish in Rome a new imperial dynasty.

Pepin the Short.

Charles Martel at his death divided the kingdom between his two eldest sons, Carloman and Pepin: the former had Austrasia and Germanic France[14] with its dependencies; the latter received Neustria and Burgundy, both retaining the title of Dukes, or Mayors of the Palace. To Grippo, the third son, a small territory was assigned; of which, however, he was deprived by his brothers in 742.[15]

[12] Daniel, tom. II. pt. I. p. 93.—and Gibbon, ub. sup. p. 27, note 33.

[13] Muratori, Annali. 741. 4to. Lucca, 1762.

[14] That is, the territory beyond the Rhine. As for France *proper*, its division was fourfold;—1. Neustria, north of the Loire and west of the Meuse;—2. Austrasia, east of the Meuse;—3. Burgundy, east of the Rhone;—4. Aquitaine, south of the Loire and west of the Rhone.

[15] Art de vér. tom. I. 550.

CHAPTER I.

Pepin thought proper to raise Childeric III., a scion of the royal family, to the regal state; but his own power was undiminished; and his possessions were enlarged by the voluntary retirement of his brother Carloman into a monastery. At length Pepin resolved to assume the royal title. Pope Zachary, too glad to conciliate the ruler of France, readily acquiesced in Childeric's deposition: Pepin was proclaimed King in 752, and received at the hands of Boniface, Archbishop of of Mentz, the holy unction, "after the manner in which David had been anointed by Samuel."[16] Two years afterwards Pope Stephen II.[17] being driven to seek succour in France against the inroads of the Lombards, Pepin received anew from that Pope the royal unction, as did also his queen and his two sons Charles and Carloman; and at the same time the Pontiff conferred upon the three princes, in his own name and that of the Roman Republic, the title of Patricians of Rome, to them and their posterity.[18] In recompence for this service Pepin undertook to march against the Lombards. He accordingly entered Italy; besieged Pavia, the Lombard capital; and by a treaty with the King Astolphus obtained possession of the Exarchate

[16] Daniel, tom. II. 231. The celebrated unction of Clovis appears to have been an invention of a later age than Pepin's. Gibbon, vol. VI. p. 319, note 29, and vol. IX. p. 152, note 56.

[17] He is called by Gibbon and others Stephen III.; but the second Stephen who died before his consecration, is not usually reckoned in the catalogue of Popes.

[18] The 36th letter of the Codex Car. is written by the *Senate* and *People* of Rome to Pepin, *Patrician*. See Murat. Ann. 763.

and the Pentapolis. The breach of this peace called Pepin a second time into Italy; a new siege of Pavia diverted the Lombard King from Rome; a new peace was adjusted; and the Exarchate and Pentapolis were left in charge of the Pope. But the conquests of Pepin were not confined to Italy. Tassillo, Duke of Bavaria, the rebellious nephew of the King, was compelled to renew his oath of submission; the insurgent Saxons were reduced, and subjected to a new tribute of three hundred horses; and the Frisons and Bretons were in turn compelled to renounce their assumed independence.[19] Pepin completed the great work of his father, the expulsion of the Moors from France: By the connivance of the Goths, Narbonne was delivered into his hands; and the whole of Septimania was at length rescued from the infidels.[20] After a long struggle with Waifar, Duke of Aquitaine, Pepin completely vanquished his enemy; and on the duke's assassination in 768, the whole province became united to the crown. The King himself expired soon after this event.

Charlemagne succeeds to the Crown of France.

The surviving sons of Pepin were Charles and Carloman. Charles (afterwards better known by the title of Charlemagne) was born at the castle of Ingelheim on the 26th of February 742; Carloman came into the world nine years later. Both, we have seen, received the royal title, with that of pa-

[19] Daniel, tom. II. p. 250.—Pfeffel, Hist. d'Allemagne, tom. I. p. 24. 4to. Paris, 1776.—Sismondi, Histoire des Français, tom. II. p. 199.

[20] Art de vér. I. p. 551.

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trician of Rome, in their father's life time; and between them, Pepin at his death divided his ample territory.[21] But the brothers were perpetually at variance; and France might have been afflicted by a civil war, but for the premature death of Carloman, which took place towards the close of the year 771. On this event, Charles, regardless of the rights of his brother's infant children, took possession of the whole kingdom; and the widow of Carloman was driven to seek refuge at the court of her father Desiderius, King of the Lombards. But though Charles had thus assumed the rule of all his paternal dominions, he was denied the peaceful enjoyment of their possession. The territory to which he laid claim comprehended the whole country corresponding with ancient Gaul, as comprised between the sea, the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees; together with a considerable portion of country on the further side of the Rhine. But throughout this extensive tract lay a multitude of tribes varying in speech and manners, who for a moment were compelled to submit, yet could scarcely be called the subjects of the French monarch. The Bretons in the north of France, and the Gascons in the south, still retained their distinction from the Franks. On the right of the Rhine the various tribes of Saxons with their Fri-

Extent of the kingdom.

[21] Murat. Ann. 768.—The respective shares, as left by Pepin, are not very easily ascertained. By a new partition after his death, Charles appears to have had Neustria, Aquitaine, Burgundy, and Provence; and Carloman, Austrasia, and Germanic France. Art de vér. tom. I. p. 552.

son and Sclavonian neighbours, harassed their sovereign and one another; whilst on the south of the Danube the Allemans and Bavarians seemed ever ready to throw off the yoke. In the remoter regions were the fierce Huns and Avars, whose very name had once spread dismay through Gaul and Italy. In the life of Charles, each of these people acts a part more or less conspicuous; and it becomes important here to distinguish them, though time and civilization have long since effaced their more prominent peculiarities.

I. The Bretons.

I. As early as the fourth century, a colony from the island of Britain had settled in that part of Gaul called Armorica;[22] and in the next century a new swarm of Bretons, driven out by the Saxon invasions, took shelter amongst their expatriated countrymen,[23] and continued to preserve their peculiar manners and language.[24] Their assumption of independence had drawn down upon them the chastisement of Clovis; their *King* was degraded into a count; and they were compelled to acknowledge the supremacy of the sovereign of the Franks.[25] Their territory occupied much of the modern Bretainy; and their incursions beyond

[22] Gibbon, vol. V. p. 8. and 363.

[23] Hume, vol. I. p. 21.

[24] The Celtic. Murat. Ann. 818.—Gibbon, vol. I. p. 60. note 39.; and vol. VI. p. 389.—Mémoire of M. Duclos, sur l'Origine et les Révolutions des Langues Celtique et Françoise, in the 15th vol. of the Histoire de l'Académie des Inscriptions, p. 565; and Mr. Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. I. Book I. chap. II. and vol. II. appendix to Book VI. chap. II.

[25] Mémoires de l' Académie des Inscriptions, tom. VIII. p. 513.

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their own limits excited the wrath of Pepin, who took their capital Vannes, and humbled their count into submission.[26]

II. The Gascons.

II. The Gascons were a people of Tarragonese Spain, who crossed the Pyrenees during the reign of the grandsons of Clovis, and established themselves, under a duke, in that district of Gaul situated between those mountains, the Garonne, and the Ocean. In 630 Aribert, King of Toulouse, and brother of Dagobert I. reduced their country and united Gascony to his own possessions.[27] The Gascons, however, continued to exist as a people distinct from the Franks.

III. The Frisons.

III. East of the Rhine, the Frisons occupied the country between that river and the Ems. Their reduction had been begun by Pepin d'Heristal in 689, who planted a body of missionaries in the town of Utrecht, in order to the conversion of the barbarians. Their final reduction was accomplished by Charles Martel.[28]

IV. The Saxons.

IV. The Saxons[29] were settled between the rivers Ems, Eyder, and Trave. They were divided into four tribes; between the Ems and the Weser, were the Westphalians and Angrarians; between the Weser and the Elbe, the Œstphalians; and beyond the Elbe the Nordlingians. The Saxons had been reduced by Charles Martel about 738,

[26] Daniel, tom. II. p. 232.

[27] Mémoires, ub. sup. p. 521.

[28] Mémoires, ub. sup. p. 524.

[29] For the origin of the Saxons, see Mr. Turner's very learned and valuable work, Book II.

and in common with most of their neighbours were heathens.[30]

V. Nearer the Oder, lay two tribes of Sclavonian descent, the Abodrites and the Wilzes; the former already tributary to France; the latter hereafter to be taught submission.[31]

V. The Abodrites.

VI. VII. South of the Danube, in the ancient provinces of Rhætia and Noricum, were the Allemans and Bavarians. Both had been conquered by Clovis in 496: but the Bavarians were still permitted to choose their own duke, though the right of approving his election was reserved to the king of the Franks.

VI. VII. The Allemans and Bavarians.

Charles, being now sole monarch of the Franks, resolved to subdue the turbulent spirit of his Saxon subjects. Having concerted measures in an assembly held at Worms in 772, he crossed the Rhine and attacked the Saxons, who were headed by a renowned chief named Witikind. After signally defeating the rebels, he took possession of the strong fortress of Ehresburg in Westphalia,[32] where was deposited the sacred column, or *Irmensaul*,[33] the object of the heathens' peculiar veneration. The temple and the idol were overthrown; and the

First Expedition against the Saxons. 772.

[30] Mémoires, ub. sup. p. 523.—Daniel, II. pt. 2. p. 68.—Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 28.

[31] Daniel, ub. sup.

[32] Now Stadtberg. Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 26.

[33] The Irmensaul is by some supposed to represent the Greek Mars, or Mercury, or Juno; it was more probably a memorial of the destruction of the legions of Augustus by Arminius. Pfeffel, ub. sup.—Daniel, tom. II. part 2. p. 13. and Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons, appendix to Book II. Chap. III.

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Saxons reduced to despair sought and obtained peace, for the maintenance of which they were compelled to give hostages to the conqueror.[34]

Conquest of Lombardy. 773. 774.

The following year led Charles to a new conquest which greatly extended his dominions, and paved the way to the most important event of his life. Charles had taken for his second wife Gisella,[35] daughter of Desiderius, King of Lombardy, whom he soon afterwards thought fit to repudiate; and the dishonoured princess was dismissed to her father's court, where she was joined by her sister Gerberga, the fugitive widow of Carloman, in the following year. This injurious treatment of his daughters naturally excited the wrath of the Lombard monarch; and his wrath might have been fomented by a bitter enemy of Charles, then resident at Pavia. Upon the death of Waifar, Duke of Aquitaine[36] in 768, his father Hunald, who had some time before resigned his dutchy to his son and retired into a monastery, emerged from his religious confinement and attempted to regain his former possessions. In the first year of his reign Charles marched against Hunald, whom he defeated and made prisoner; but who, after a short impri-

[34] Daniel, ub. sup.

[35] Called also Sibilla.

[36] Aquitaine (comprising the country south of the Loire and west of the Saone and Rhone, including Gascony and Septimania, which last was united to France on the expulsion of the Saracens) was erected into an hereditary dutchy in 637 (Anquetil, Hist. de France, tom. I. p. 334. Paris, 1821.) in favour of Boggis by his uncle Dagobert I.—Boggis was succeeded by his son Eudes, who died in 734; Hunald, who abdicated 765; and Gaifre, or Waifar, assassinated 768.

sonment, found means of escape, and placed himself under the protection of the king of the Lombards. The smouldering flame of discord soon found occasion to burst forth. Desiderius, like his predecessors, had indulged in aggressions on the territory of the bishop of Rome; not only had the conquests of Pepin in Italy been regained by the Lombards, but the Immortal City itself was once more threatened by the conquerors. To Charles the holy father represented his danger; and as Pepin had listened to the exhortation of Stephen, so the son of Pepin was easily persuaded to succour Adrian. Having collected his army he repaired to Geneva; and dividing his forces, marched the one division over Mount Cenis, and the other over the Great St. Bernard.[37] Desiderius, unable to resist his new adversary, suffered himself to be blockaded in Pavia; whilst Verona, which was defended by his son Adalgiso, capitulated to the Franks.[38] The Lombard prince effected his escape to Constantinople and was reserved for new adventures; but by the capture of Verona the widow and children of Carloman fell into the hands of Charles; and having been removed into France were involved in a fate open to that suspicion which ever attends upon mystery.

Leaving his uncle Bernard to carry on the blockade of Pavia, Charles descended to Rome, where he was received with the utmost reverence 774.

[37] Murat. Ann. 773. [38] Giannone, tom. II. p. 428. 8vo. Milano, 1823.

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by the Pope and the Romans. To him as their *Patrician*[39] they rendered all the honours once bestowed on the exarch of the eastern emperor; and in return Charles assumed the right of investing the see of Rome with those lands already assigned to the Pope by his father Pepin. His return to Pavia was quickly followed by the surrender of that city;[40] and the title of King of Lombardy, for ever lost to the Lombards, was assumed by the King of the Franks.[41] But this conquest scarcely altered the general state of Italy. The Lombards were permitted to retain their laws and institutions. From the three great Dutchies of Friuli, Spoleto, and Benevento, no more was required than the fealty they had been accustomed to yield to the Lombard kings; and the less important dutchies were still confided to their respective dukes. The Exarchate of Ravenna (with the exception of Ferrara and

[39] Muratori (ann. 789.) has clearly proved that this title indicated *sovereign* authority. Patrician, under the western Emperors, seems to have meant Prime Minister, or Governor, as in the cases of Ætius and Orestes. Gibbon, vol. VI. p. 222. By Odoacer it was assumed to denote his Supreme Government. ib. p. 228.

[40] The Pavians, reduced to the last stage of famine and disease, stoned to death Hunald, the former duke of Aquitaine, who opposed their cries for surrender. Art. de vér. tom. I. p. 552.

[41] The progress of the Lombards in their Italian conquests is clearly stated by Giannone, Lib. IV. c. 1.; and the extent of their kingdom, by Muratori, Antiquitates Italicæ medii ævi, Dissert. II. See also Gibbon, vol. VIII. p. 147. 158. He divides the kingdom of Lombardy into *thirty* dukedoms, though Giannone asserts there were *thirty-six*. It was not unusual, however, to abolish a dutchy on the death of its duke, as Crema (see Gian. ub. sup. sec. 1.). Besides Friuli, Spoleto, and Benevento, we find, in Muratori, Lombard dukes of Asti (ann. 612); Turin (662); Bergamo (702); Lucca (713); Perugia (741); Chiusi (742. 785); Fermo (770); and Ivrea (772); and in Giannone, of Vicenza, Pavia, Brescia, Milan, and Trent.

Faenza), the Pentapolis, and the Dutchy of Rome,[42] were confirmed to the Pope, subject, however, to the sovereign rights of Charles. The Greek possessions in the south were respected.[43] The residue of Italy, as Liguria, Æmilia, Venetia, Tuscany, and the Cottian Alps, was appropriated to the conqueror; who subsequently entrusted the limits, or *marches*, to the government of *Marquisses*,[44] and the cities to *Counts*; over whom the royal Commissaries[45] were invested with an extraordinary authority for the good government of the whole. The cities were required to take the oath of fealty; upon them, as well as the feudatories and ecclesiastical bodies, were imposed the tributes of *Fodrum*, *Parata*, and *Mansionaticum*,[46] an easy burthen, and

[42] Under the Empire, the Exarchate and Pentapolis, enclosed between the Apennines and the Adriatic, extended from the Po to the south of Ancona. The Dutchy (governed by a duke subordinate to the exarch) extended from Viterbo to Terracina, and from Narni to the mouth of the Tiber. Murat. Ann. 713-1133.—Gibbon, vol. IX. p. 142. 157. The *cities* comprehended in this gift are particularized by Giannone, Lib. V. c. II. s. 2.

[43] Murat. Ann. 774. The territories which still remained to the Eastern Empire were, the little dutchies of Naples, Amalfi, and Gaieta, and some cities in Calabria and the Bruttii.—Art. de vérif. ub. sup.

[44] This title was first introduced into Italy by the Franks (Gibbon, vol. X. p. 254. note 13.); but not till after 800. Murat. Antiq. Ital. Dissert. VI.

[45] These *Missi* were only created on occasion, and thus differed from the Counts of the Palace, who were permanent judges attendant upon the Sovereign. Murat. Antiq. Ital. Dissert. VII. and IX. The first that occur in that author's Annals are Echerigo and Everard. Ann. 801.

[46] i.e. Lodging and food for himself, his followers, and their horses. Murat. Antiq. Ital. Dissert. XIX. The terms Parata and Mansionaticum are frequently confounded; but the distinction seems to be, that the former signified the expense which the host incurred in receiving his guest; the latter, the money collected and paid to the guest to provide for his own maintenance. Spelman's Glossary, ad verba.

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only enforced whilst the sovereign sojourned in Italy. To the general meetings of the nobles Charles added the ecclesiastical authorities; and with him originated those legislative assemblies which were afterwards accustomed to be held in the plain of Roncaglia.[47]

Charles returned to France, carrying with him, as his captives, Desiderius and his queen. But whatever submission the three great dutchies had affected to yield, it was soon manifest that they entertained no friendly disposition towards their new sovereign. Scarcely had Charles crossed the Alps than Rodgauso, Duke of Friuli, threw off the mask, and sought to restore Prince Adalgiso to the throne of his father. Upon the tidings of insurrection Charles hastened back to Italy, and speedily completed his vengeance. The dutchy of Friuli was dismembered; and the Duke paid by decapitation the penalty of his rashness. Awed by this terrible example, Hildebrand, Duke of Spoleto, deemed it prudent to renew his declarations of obedience. But the more distant dutchy of Benevento maintained a doubtful position, and for the present evaded any express submission.[48]

Revolt of Friuli.

During the absence of Charles at the siege of Pavia, the restless Saxons, incited by their former leader Witikind, a second time revolted, and drew the King, on his first return from Italy, to the banks of the Weser. Though beaten and apparently reduced, they found occasion to surprise, by

Second revolt of the Saxons. 575.

[47] Giannone, tom. III. p. 5, 8.

[48] Giannone, Lib. VI. c. 1.

a midnight inroad, the slumbering camp of Charles; and many of his soldiers perished ere the danger was discovered. They were soon, however, repulsed; and the slaughter of their troops and the desolation of their country once more reduced them to submission. But no sooner had the King returned to Friuli than the Saxons were a third time in revolt. The arrival of Charles at Worms for the third time damped their rebellious spirit; and he now resolved to spare the insurgents on no other terms than their consenting to embrace the Christian faith. In compliance with their promises of submission and conversion, many appeared in the following year in an assembly at Paderborn, and received baptism: but the inexorable Witikind still disdained to submit; and retiring into the more northern regions awaited a new occasion for revolt.

Third revolt of the Saxons. 776.

It was in this assembly that the thoughts of Charles were first invited to the conquest of Spain. That country had been completely overrun by the Arabs at the beginning of the eighth century: the Christians were subjected to the yoke of the infidels, who exacted from them a moderate tribute, incorporated them with their own people, and even permitted them to maintain the Christian religion in the midst of their conquered cities. But in the fastnesses of the Asturias the spirit of independence was still kept alive by a small band of fugitives; who, being headed by Pelayo a member of the Gothic royal family, created him their King, and

State of Spain. 718—777.

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devoted themselves to the arduous labour of reconquering Spain. In the valley of Cargas the standard of liberty was displayed; the Moorish force which was sent to overwhelm the little band of heroes was *miraculously*[49] annihilated; and Pelayo, being joined by Alfonso a noble Spaniard at the head of a troop of Biscayans, possessed himself of Gijon, and some other places in Asturia and Gallicia. After a reign of nineteen years, Pelayo was succeeded by his son Favila, whose death two years afterwards made room for the *Catholic* Alfonso. Under him the conquests of the Spaniards were more widely spread. Having reduced the greater part of Gallicia and the mountainous district of Asturia, he extended his kingdom by many acquisitions in Leon, Castile, and Biscay.[50] Dying in 757, he was succeeded by his son Froila, who defeated the Moors in a pitched battle, and built Oviedo, which he constituted as the capital of his kingdom; and there his immediate successors continued to reign.[51]

Pelayo, King of Asturia. 718.

Favila. 737.

Alfonso I. 739.

Froila, King of Oviedo. 757.

Aurelio. 768.

Selo. 774.

These conquests were not a little promoted by the fruitless expeditions of the Moors across the mountains, which led to their great defeat by Charles Martel, and their final expulsion from France by Pepin. But a still more advantageous

[49] Mariana, Lib. VII. c. 1.

[50] Mariana, c. 4., who particularizes the towns of Astorga, Segovia, Pampluna, &c. But if the capital of Navarre were among the conquests of Alfonso, it had been retaken by the Moors prior to 778.

[51] Art de vérif. tom. I. p. 735. Ordoño II., who succeeded in 914 changed the title of the kingdom from Oviedo to Leon. ibid. 738.

circumstance for the Christians was the disordered and factious state of the Moorish government. Far distant from the newly-acquired conquest, the caliph of the East committed the care of Spain to a governor nominated by himself; or, upon urgent occasions, by his viceroy in Africa. These governors were perpetually exposed to sedition and perfidy; and were at length entirely extinguished by Abdulrahman, who restored the splendour of the Ommyade race; and seating himself upon the throne of Cordoba, for ever renounced the dominion of the Abasside caliph.[52]

Abdulrahman, first caliph of Spain. 756.

Amongst those Emirs who had been deprived of their local governments by this revolution, was Eben-al-Arabi, governor of Saragossa. At the same assembly in which Charles assisted at the conversion of his Saxon subjects, he listened to the voice of the infidel Alarabi, who had journeyed as far as Paderborn to implore the aid of the Christians against the usurper Abdulrahman. Charles readily undertook to march into Spain; and entering Navarre at the head of a considerable army, laid siege to the capital Pampluna. That city immediately surrendered; and Charles crossing the Ebro advanced upon Saragossa, which soon fell into his hands. Other Saracen cities hastened to place

Expedition into Spain. 778.

[52] Gibbon, vol. X. p. 34.—Abdulrahman was lineally descended in the fourth degree from the caliph Mirwan, first cousin of the caliph Othman, who married the two daughters of the Prophet by Hafna, daughter of the caliph Omar. Mirwan was himself lineally descended in the third degree from Omyah, the grandson of Abdul Manaf, the ancestor of the Prophet. See Price's Mahommedan History.

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themselves under the protection of the conqueror: Huesca, Barcelona, and Girona swore fealty to the French king; and Charles, having spread his authority from the Pyrenees to the Ebro, established the *march* of Spain, which he committed to the government of a newly-created count of Barcelona.—It was upon the occasion of his return into France that a conflict took place between the rear of the French army and the treacherous Gascons, who had formed an ambush amidst the mountains. The valley of Roncesvalles has been marked by tradition as the theatre of Charles's disgrace.[53] After the main body of the army had been suffered to advance in security, the rear was suddenly attacked and cut to pieces, the baggage seized and plundered, and many principal officers numbered among the slain. Of these, the names of three only appear in any accredited narration; Eghart, Steward of the royal table; Anselm, Count of the palace; and Rutland, Roland, or Orlando, Governor of the march of Bretainy.[54] The names of Orlando and Roncesvalles cannot fail to conjure up the dreams of chivalry and enchantment; but the dry annals of that age refuse to realize these splendid visions.

Battle of Roncesvalles.

[53] Art de vérif. tom. I. p. 553.—Gibbon, vol. IX. p. 177, and note 99. Mariana (Lib. VII. c. 11.) places this defeat a little before the death of Charlemagne.

[54] Eginhard, Ann. 778.—Murat. Ann. 778. The authors of L'Art de vérifier follow the romances in making Orlando nephew of Charlemagne, which Pfeffel has thought fit to deny. The only mention of Orlando in *History* is his death, by Eginhard; his adventures rest upon the authority of the "good Turpin" (whoever he might have been, see the article Turpin, in Bayle), and the lucubrations of Pulci, Boiardo, and Ariosto.

The death of Orlando first announces that he ever existed; and the gorgeous meteors of Poetry and Romance are scarcely visible through the dense atmosphere of History.

Fourth revolt of the Saxons. 779.

Not long after this expedition, a fourth revolt of the Saxons called for the presence of Charles in Germany. Witikind had again returned from the north, and led his countrymen to the massacre of the Franks who occupied the eastern bank of the Rhine. On the borders of the Eider the rebels received a complete overthrow; nor was the wrath of the avenger appeased until multitudes of the barbarians had fallen. Resolved to tame their insurgent spirit by the spread of Christianity, Charles not only distributed among them a number of missionaries, but enacted laws by which the infraction of the smallest ordinance of the Church was made punishable with death. The callous Witikind once more sought refuge in the regions of the north.[55]

780.

Charlemagne in Italy. 781.

In the ensuing year Charles deemed it expedient again to visit Italy. He had too much reason to suspect the intentions of Arechis, or Aregiso, Duke of Benevento, who was in correspondence with the Lombard prince Adalgiso, then resident at Constantinople; and had even entered into a negociation with the imperial court. Taking with him his queen Hildegarde (whom he married immediately after repudiating his Lombard consort), and his

[55] Daniel, tom. II. part 2. p. 45.—Art de vérif. ub. sup.—Gibbon, vol. IX. p. 176, note 98.

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two youngest sons Carloman and Lewis, Charles crossed the Alps and arrived at Rome early in the year 781. His presence hushed all clamours; every thing breathed peace and conciliation. At his desire, Adrian I. invested the two young princes each with a kingly crown. Carloman, then little more than seven years old, was baptized by the name of Pepin and crowned King of Italy by the Pope; and Lewis, then about three, received the crown of Aquitaine. Nearly at the same time, Charles was gratified by a proposal from the Empress Irene which promised to dispel all fears on the side of Constantinople. This was no other than an offer to contract in marriage the young Emperor Constantine with Rotrude, Princess of France; an union which, though only prospective from the present youth of the royal couple, was readily assented to by Charles; and the intended empress was forthwith instructed in the Greek language.[56]

Pepin, King of Italy.

Lewis, King of Aquitaine.

Fifth revolt of the Saxons. 782.

If the mild precepts of the gospel failed to produce their due effect upon the unquiet Saxons, perhaps the pageantry of their new form of worship might have consoled them for the loss of their idols. But Witikind once more appeared amongst them, and the pious, or politic, labours of Charles were again frustrated. The ministers of his religion were barbarously massacred; two of his generals, whom he had despatched against the rebels, received

[56] Daniel, ub. sup.—Murat. Ann. 781.—Her instructor was Paul the deacon. Tiraboschi, tom III. p. 230.

a disgraceful defeat; and the royal presence again became necessary in Saxony. The moment Charles appeared there, order and submission were restored; and Witikind hastily retreated beyond sea. But a dreadful retribution awaited the wretched people who had been deluded or encouraged by his rebellion. Charles summoned before him at Verden the principal persons of the nation; nor was his vengeance satiated until four thousand five hundred of the rebels had been butchered in his presence. This ferocious act of carnage defeated its own object: a general insurrection immediately followed; and Witikind and his brother Alboin were quickly at the head of the Saxons. But the 788.
arms of Charles were too potent for resistence; two signal victories broke the Saxon spirit; and either party seemed weary of the war. Witikind and Alboin, who had braved the conqueror's fury, were softened by his pacific offers; both submitted and were baptized; and a longer interval of peace 785.
ensued than Charles had yet experienced from this rebellious people.[57] From the Saxons, the attention of Charles was called towards the western extremity of his kingdom. The Bretons, who had learned The Bretons subdued.
from Pepin the dangers of insubordination, now ventured to renounce the authority of his son; and Charles resolved to complete the work which his father had begun, and dissipate this illusion of independence. His very menaces seem to have had

[57] Daniel, tom. II. pt. 2. p. 53.—Struvius, Corpus Hist. Germanicæ, tom. I. p. 130. folio, Jena, 1730.—Pfeffel, p. 30.

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the desired effect without forcing him to a conflict. At an assembly at Worms he received their oath, whereby they acknowledged themselves vassals of the French; in token of which they submitted to the galling terms of hostages and a tribute.[58]

Expedition against Benevento. 787.

To one who aimed at universal dominion it was but reasonable that repose should be denied. The duke of Benevento had perpetually been an object of suspicion to Charles. His connexion with Desiderius, the last Lombard king (for he had married Adelburga daughter of the monarch), and the natural rancour of his dutchess at the injuries and misfortunes of her dearest relations, were too strong incentives to rebellion, had not prudence whispered respect for the vigour and promptitude of the French King. At length, however, Arechis summoned courage openly to renounce the authority of Charles; and, in assertion of his independence, ventured to assume the title of *Prince* of Benevento. But this bold step was hardly taken, ere the self-created prince learnt with consternation that the rapid march of the King had already brought him as far as Rome; and terrified at this sudden and unlooked for vicinity he now sought to avert the ruin he had heedlessly drawn down upon him. He immediately despatched an embassy to Charles with protestations of repentance and submission, which met the King at Capua, and induced him to pardon his penitent vassal, and receive the children

[58] Anquetil, tom. II. p. 32.—Daniel, tom. II. pt. 2. p. 56.

of Arechis as pledges for his future obedience. The dark fate of their cousins might have justified alarm for the young Grimbald and Adelgisa; but they had no reason to complain of the rigours of captivity. Adelgisa was suffered to return to the duke at Salerno; and Grimbald, though compelled to accompany Charles into France, was treated with conciliatory kindness.[59]

Dismemberment of Bavaria. 788.

Another victim was to be offered at the shrine of universal dominion. Tassillo, Duke of Bavaria, was closely connected with Charles by both blood and marriage. Odilo, the father of Tassillo, had married Hiltrude the daughter of Charles Martel; and Tassillo himself espoused Liutberge, daughter of Desiderius, and sister of the repudiated wife of Charles. Tassillo had already in the reign of Pepin incurred suspicions of disaffection; and Charles on more than one occasion found it necessary to admonish and overawe his refractory kinsman. On the first news of the Beneventine defection, the wife of Tassillo prevailed upon him to take part in the rebellion; but ere any blow had been struck, the Bavarian was summoned by his sovereign to vindicate himself, before his peers, at the *Assizes* of Ingelheim. Tassillo was in no condition to disobey the call. His subjects had learned, from the fate of the Saxons, a lesson which made them anxious to separate their cause from that of their chief. Thay even appeared as his accusers,

[59] Giannone, Lib. VI. c. III.

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and the convicted traitor was doomed to death. Charles, however, vouchsafed to spare his life, but upon no light conditions. The dutchy of Bavaria was abolished and divided into counties; and the duke, his wife, and his children were immured in different monasteries.[60]

Invasion and defeat of the Greeks. 788

Meanwhile Charles received from Adrian an intimation which convinced him of the insincerity of his Beneventine vassal, and of the hostile views of the court of Constantinople towards himself and the Pope. The return of the King to France had emboldened Arechis to renew his negociations with Irene and Adalgiso. The friendly relations between the Empress and the King were already dissolved; the concerted match between their children was broken off;[61] and Irene, jealous of the still increasing power of Charles, lent herself to the attempts of Adalgiso to regain the crown of Lombardy. But before their schemes were ripe for execution, death surprised the prince of Benevento, and the decease of his eldest son Romoald left Grimbald heir to the principality. That youth had been won by the kind offices of Charles, and still resided at his court; and the Beneventines now eagerly desired that he might be permitted to return amongst them. To this the King assented; but upon two conditions; the one calculated to perpetuate his

[60] Daniel, ub. sup. p. 58.—Pfeffel, p. 30.

[61] By which of the parties, is matter of contradiction. Eginhard asserts that Charles refused to give his daughter; Theophanes, a contemporary Greek writer, asserts that Irene refused to give her son.

own supremacy; the other to abolish a peculiar mark of distinction, which seemed too national to be retained by a portion of the subjects of one great monarchy: the coin and public acts were to bear the name of Charles, and the Lombards were to trim their beards after the Frank fashion. The young duke's fidelity was speedily put to the test; Adalgiso, supported by a Greek force, landed on the coast of Italy, and Charles despatched an army from France to repel the invaders. This army was immediately joined by Grimbald and Hildebrand, Duke of Spoleto; and the united forces obtained a complete victory near Benevento. The Greek general falling into the hands of the Lombards was cruelly put to death; and Adalgiso escaping to Constantinople ended his days in obscurity.[62] 788.

The following year extended the dominions of Charles as far as the shores of the Baltic. We have already noticed the two tribes of Abodrites and Wilzes, situated between the Elbe and the Oder; the former professing submission to Charles; the latter disdaining obedience, and manifesting their love of liberty by continued attacks upon their more pacific neighbours. The cries of his Abodrite subjects drew Charles into the more northern district of Germany; and the ravages and prowess of the Franks threw the Wilzes into astonishment and consternation. They lost no time in appeasing this new enemy; they at once surrendered their 789.

[62] Daniel, ub. sup.—Mur. Ann. 788.—Giannone, Lib. VI. c. III. IV.

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lands to the invader; agreed to hold them as his vassals; and delivered over to him a band of hostages.

Invasion of Pannonia. 791.

A more important foe was next to be subdued, and a new kingdom added to the French monarchy. After a year's repose, Charles resolved again to enjoy the excitement of war; and an expedition was concerted against the Huns or Avars, who looked with jealousy on the dismemberment of Bavaria, and even ventured to attack the French possessions in Lombardy and Germany. The chastisement of these incursions was entrusted by the King to his generals; and three signal victories abated the ferocious ardour of the Huns.[63] They even condescended to despatch ambassadors to Worms to settle with Charles the boundaries of his new Bavarian acquisitions. But the negociation proved abortive; and Charles resolved to put himself at the head of his army and proceed to the reduction of his heathen neighbours. This savage people had spread themselves over the ancient Pannonia as far as the river Ens, and occupied the modern Bohemia and Austria, with much of the more distant country.[64] Their towns, or rather villages, were fortified by strong fences which protected their homes, whilst they sallied forth into the surrounding countries, and returned laden with wealth which their uncivilized state rendered superfluous. The invading army of Charles exceeded

[63] Daniel, ub. sup. p. 61.

[64] Anquetil, tom. II. p. 42.

any that he had hitherto commanded. His entry into the territory of the Huns was preceded by fasting and prayer, by masses and processions, and by all the ingenious expedients for propitiating heaven which the darkness of that age encouraged. But the overwhelming multitude of the invaders might have secured success without the special interference of Providence. The Huns in vain endeavoured to stem the torrent; and after fighting with the utmost bravery were driven back in all directions. Town after town fell rapidly into the hands of the conquerors: Vienna and other strong fortresses were plundered and dismantled; an immense booty was secured; and Charles now pushed the limits of his territory from the banks of the Ens to the junction of the Danube with the Drave. After this important conquest, he took up his winter quarters at Ratisbon.[65]

Conspiracy of Pepin, eldest son of Charlemagne. 792.

But whilst Charles thus carried his victorious arms through foreign regions, he was threatened by domestic danger; and on his return from the Hunnic war had nearly perished by the daggers of conspirators, amongst whom was his own son. The King had now been four times married. The issue of the first marriage (if *marriage* it really

[65] Daniel, ub. sup. p. 71.—Pfeffel, p. 32.—The former writer has adopted the strange account given by the monk of St. Gall, of the manner in which the country of the Huns was fortified. In the centre was a town encircled by strong palisades. Twenty miles without this was another circle of palisades surrounding the first; at the same distance a third surrounding the second;—and the whole country thus presented a system of circles one within another, while the towns were built in the interstices.

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were) was Pepin.[66] The mother, Himiltrude, had been cast off when Charles found it convenient to espouse the daughter of the king of Lombardy. After his divorce from Gisella, her place was quickly supplied by Hildegarde, a lady of Swabia, who gave him three sons, Charles, Carloman, and Lewis. Hildegarde, whose virtues gained her the esteem of her husband and his people, died in 783; and the disconsolate widower shortly afterward solaced himself by a fourth marriage with Fastrade, daughter of a German count. In the appropriation and division of conquered territory, the eldest son Pepin had been entirely overlooked. His very existence seemed forgotten when at the baptismal font his name was conferred on Carloman his brother. Pepin was deficient neither in courage nor understanding, but his person was deformed and forbidding; and whilst he was neglected by his father, he was doomed to endure the injurious treatment of his new step-mother, who in no wise resembled the mild and virtuous Hildegarde. Incensed by this usage, the gloomy youth brooded over his wrongs till his mind engendered the black design of destroying his king and father. Congenial spirits were not wanting to participate in his dark purpose, and the King's sojourn at Ratisbon was chosen for executing the murderous intention.

[66] Both Muratori and Pfeffel treat Himiltrude as the concubine, and Pepin as the bastard, of Charles. Father Daniel considers it a valid marriage. Struvius (p. 123) treats Pepin as the son of Himiltrude, a concubine of Charlemagne during his union with his wife Fastrade.

Shortly before the time appointed for striking the blow, the conspirators assembled to take their last council in a church, and in the eagerness of their discussion overlooked the person of a Lombard priest, who reposed in an obscure corner of the building. The intruder was already in possession of their secret, when they discovered their error; and even then they were content to spare his life on his swearing to preserve silence. But no sooner was the priest liberated from his mortal danger than he hastened to the King and laid open all he had discovered. The conspirators were immediately seized; the greater number were condemned to death; and Pepin himself was saved from the last punishment by the lenity of his father, who caused him to be immured for life within the walls of a monastery. The priest was rewarded with the Abbey of St. Denys. Fastrade, whose excesses had assisted to provoke this tragedy, did not long survive its completion; and Charles by a fifth marriage raised to the throne Liutgarde of Swabia.[67]

The retreat of Charles to Ratisbon had enabled the fugitive Huns to return to their deserted territories, to repair their dismantled towns, and put themselves in a position to repel a new invasion. For the present the disordered state of Charles's dominions was their best protection. Italy, Saxony, and Spain were filled with revolt and confusion. In the first, Grimbald, Duke of Benevento, once

[67] Daniel, ub. sup. p. 73.—Anquetil, p. 43.—Mur. Ann. 792.—Liutgarde died in 800.

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War in Benevento. 793.

the strict ally of the King, gradually relinquished his allegiance; and having espoused Uvantia, niece of the Greek Emperor, openly rejected the dominion of France. Against him Pepin, King of Lombardy, and Lewis, King of Aquitaine, were despatched, and a desultory and fruitless war was commenced in Benevento.[68] In Saxony, the restless infidels had surprised the French garrison, massacred the missionaries, burnt the churches, and once more set up their idols. In Spain the Moors had attacked and captured Barcelona, and even overleaped the Pyrenees and carried their ravages to the gates of Narbonne. Fortunately their war with Alfonso II. King of Leon, diverted them from further prosecuting their invasion; and the caliph Hissem was compelled to strengthen his forces in Spain by the recall of his troops from Languedoc. Charles therefore resolved in the first instance to chastise the rebellious Saxons, and to make their reduction the prelude to his attack upon the Huns. With a view of facilitating this latter conquest he formed the design of uniting the rivers Rhine and Danube. This project, which has extorted the admiration of his historians, would scarcely deserve notice in an age of more advanced civilization. The Mayne, which flows into the Rhine, forms a junction with the Retnitz near Bamberg, whose source is near Weissenburg in Franconia. Near Weissenburg also rises the Altmuhl, which flows into the Danube

Sixth revolt of the Saxons.

Incursions of the Moors.

Project to connect the Rhine and the Danube.

[68] Giannone, Lib. VI. c. IV.

by Kelheim in Bavaria. To connect the Retnitz with the Altmuhl is, therefore, to connect the Rhine with the Danube;—the German Ocean with the Euxine Sea. Charles resolved to accomplish this desirable object by means of a canal. The distance to be cut through was scarcely two leagues, and the work was actually commenced. But the mechanical arts of the eighth century were unable to execute the suggestions of Charles's genius, and the great project was never accomplished.[69] In the midst of his warlike preparations, the King found time to hold a Council at Frankfort, where were promulgated his strenuous, though tolerant, censures on the worship of images, and the condemnation of the doctrines of Nestorius, then newly revived by Felix, the heretical bishop of Urgel.[70]

Council of Frankfort. 794.

From Frankfort, Charles proceeded to the castigation of the Saxons. He divided his forces into two bodies, commanding one in person, and entrusting the other to his eldest son, Charles, Duke of Maine.[71] The very presence of the King disarmed the barbarians; their submission was received on two conditions; first, that they should receive a new body of missionaries; secondly, that one third of those who had taken up arms should be delivered over to the conqueror. With a policy not remarkable for sagacity, Charles caused these prisoners to

[69] Daniel, ub. sup. p. 75.—Pfeffel, p. 32.

[70] The history of this council is minutely related by Daniel, tom. II. pt. 2. p. 76-89; and briefly touched upon by Gibbon, vol. IX. p. 168.

[71] Strictly speaking, *not* his eldest: but Pepin was now a monk, and *civilly* dead.

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be distributed through the remotest provinces of his kingdom; they were cut off, indeed, from their country, but they carried with them the spirit of rebellion; and when afterwards the Flemish subjects broke out into that insubordination which they learned from the Saxon settlers, it was quaintly said, that instead of one devil, Charles had now raised up two.[72] Nor did this measure tame the obdurate residue. Wiltzan, the ally of Charles and king of the Abodrites, was surprised and slain; and the annals of the five succeeding years are marked by new revolt, new chastisement, new submission, and new dispersion of the rebels into other territories.[73]

Seventh, 795. Eighth, 796. Ninth, 797. Tenth, 798. and eleventh revolt of the Saxons. 799.

This succession of revolts afforded Charles no time to visit the Huns in person: his arms were nevertheless irresistible. Under the command of Henry, Duke of Friuli, and of Pepin, King of Italy, the Huns were repeatedly defeated; their *Khan* was slain; and the limits of the French monarchy were now extended as far as the river Saave. An immense booty rewarded the bravery of the army; the Huns were compelled to receive Christianity and the heavier yoke of Charles, whose dominions were enlarged by the junction of Pannonia.[74]

Final conquest of Pannonia. 796.

Whilst his brother was thus engaged in over-

[72] Daniel, ub. sup. p. 89.—Anquetil, tom. II. p. 44.

[73] Art. de vérif. ub. sup.—Pfeffel.—Murat. Ann. 798. 799. A street in Rome was called *Vicus Saxonum* from these exiles. Murat. Ann. 796.

[74] Daniel, ub. sup. and Murat. Ann. 796.

throwing the Huns, Lewis, King of Aquitaine, was sent into the south to curb the insolence of the Saracens. The exploits of this prince have scarcely been thought worthy of relation,[75] a sure sign of their insignificance. But the troops of Charles were soon after enabled to rescue the Balearic Islands from the descents of the infidels; and the grateful inhabitants of those isles voluntarily surrendered themselves into the protecting hands of the king of the Franks.[76]

The Balearic Isles surrendered to Charles. 799.

In the midst of these wars, Charles lost a sincere and zealous friend by the death of Pope Adrian I., who expired at Rome in the year 795. But his successor Leo III. was no less friendly, and the views of the King and Pope were exceedingly well suited for their mutual advantage. Immediately after his election, Leo transmitted to the royal residence at Aix-la-Chapelle, the standard of Rome with other gifts; and exhorted Charles to delegate one of his nobles, who might receive, in his name, the oath of fealty from the Roman people. In compliance with this agreeable request, the Abbot Angelbert was despatched to Rome; and the present of a portion of the Hunnic spoils was at the same time transmitted to the Pope. The proffered oath was pronounced; the equivocal title of *Patrician* was explained by that of *Lord*;[77] the allegiance due to the eastern Empire was en-

Leo III. Pope. 795-816.

[75] Murat. Ann. 797. [76] Murat. ad ann.

[77] A council was held in 799, præcipiente gloriosissimo ac piissimo DOMINO nostro Carolo. Murat. ad ann.

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tirely forgotten; and thenceforth the Commissaries of the King of France administered justice in the capital of the west. Happy indeed was it for Leo that he had secured so powerful an ally and protector. In the fifth year of his pontificate, a fearful conspiracy burst out in Rome; the person of the Pope was cruelly lacerated, and with difficulty his life was preserved from the violence of his aggressors. To Charles he flew for refuge; at Paderborn he was kindly received by the monarch, who sympathized with his sufferings, and listened with complacency to his protestations of innocence of the charges which his enemies had promulgated against him. Justice, however, required that both parties should be heard; and with a view to a full investigation, the Pope was conducted back to Rome under a magnificent escort of bishops and nobles, at once his protectors and judges. The hearing of the cause terminated in the acquittal of the Pope and the confusion of his accusers; and the authors of the revolt were transmitted to the King to be punished according to his pleasure. But Charles had meanwhile resolved to visit Italy in person. The stillness which reigned in Saxony and Pannonia permitted his absence from Germany; the protracted war in Benevento, the wrongs of the Pope, and perhaps some secret understanding with the holy father, were sufficient motives for this expedition; and on the 24th of November, 800, Charles I. King of the Franks arrived in Rome. Assisted by the spiritual and temporal lords of Italy

Charlemagne visits Rome. 800.

and France, Charles immediately proceeded to the judgment of the Pope. But Leo's accusers were already silenced; and the absence of accusation ensured his acquittal. The Pope thus absolved deemed it prudent to be fortified by the judgment of God; and mounting the pulpit solemnly swore his innocence on the Holy Gospels. This gratuitous appeal entirely convinced the applauding multitude.[78]

The benefits which Leo had received from Charles called for remuneration, and a cheap remuneration lay in the hand of the Pope. The bond which connected Rome with the eastern Empire was already loosened; the conqueror of Europe was now Patrician or Lord of Rome; and the name of Emperor seemed only wanting to fill up the measure of his greatness. Accordingly on the anniversary of the birth of Christ, when multitudes of every nation thronged the church of St. Peter, whilst Charles was immersed in prayer at the foot of the apostolic sepulchre, the Pope drew near him with a golden crown and imperial mantle. No sooner had Charles risen from his devotions than Leo, placing the crown upon the monarch's head, exclaimed aloud, "To Charles, Augustus, crowned by God, the great and pacific Emperor of the Romans, life and victory!" Acclamations re-echoed throughout the assembly; and the Senate, the Romans, and the strangers simultaneously repeated the important sentence which once more gave an Emperor to the western world. At length the joyous sounds being

Charlemagne crowned Emperor. Dec. 25th, 800.

[78] Giannone, Lib. VI. c. 5.—Sismondi, Hist. des Français, tom. II. p. 397.

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hushed, the Pope proceeded to anoint the new Emperor with the sacred unction, and invested him with the imperial mantle. All present paid their homage to their sovereign, and Charles swore to protect the holy church of Rome to the utmost of his power.[79]

Europe now beheld once more two emperors. But how different their situations! In the East, Constantine, the legitimate successor of his father Leo, lay blind and captive; whilst his ambitious mother Irene wielded the sceptre she had wrung from the hand of her son, and governed the still decreasing territories of the empire. In the West, shone forth Charles the Great, or Charlemagne, the hereditary lord of a regal dominion, the conqueror of nations, and the founder of a new dynasty. Ill as the proud Irene might brook this assumption of the imperial title, her weakness compelled her to dissemble. Her throne was shaken by internal discord; the favourable moment for her destruction was eagerly watched; and she opened a negociation with Charlemagne, which included a proposal of her marriage with that monarch and the consequent union of the ancient and modern empires.

802. But in the midst of these negociations Irene was

[79] Giannone, Lib. VI. c. 5.—Murat. Ann.—Schmidt, Geschichte der Deutschen, B. III. k. 2. Ulm, 1785. These writers as well as Struvius (p. 145) judiciously reject the assertion, originating with Eginhard, that the coronation of Charles came upon him by surprise, and even contrary to his wishes.—Money was coined at Rome in the name of the emperor Charlemagne and his successors; the imperial name being on one side, and that of the Pope, or the figure of St. Peter, on the reverse. Père Daniel, tom. II. p. 119.—Murat. Antiq. Ital. Dissert. XXVII.

dethroned and exiled, and Nicephorus ascended the throne.[80] A friendly intercourse was soon afterwards established between the two emperors: to Nicephorus were guaranteed Sicily, the Greek cities of Calabria, and the sovereign rights over Naples, Gaieta, and Amalfi; whilst Rome and the residue of Italy, with Istria, Croatia, and Dalmatia (excepting the maritime cities) were surrendered to Charlemagne.[81] Nor was Nicephorus the only eastern sovereign who recognized the title of the western Emperor. On the throne of Bagdad sat the renowned caliph Haroun-al-raschid.[82] Twice after the coronation of Charlemagne the ambassadors of Haroun visited the imperial court; and amongst other magnificent presents[83] conferred upon the Emperor, the pious beheld with delight the keys of the city of Jerusalem.[84]

His title recognized by Nicephorus, Emperor of the East. 803.

and by Haroun, caliph of Bagdad. 801. 807.

But whilst Charlemagne was thus securing the friendship of distant princes, the disquietude of his own subjects called for the interference of his arms. The Saxons were for the twelfth time in rebellion; the treacherous governor of Barcelona had betrayed his trust; the new subjects in Pannonia were harassed by the Sclavonians of Bohemia; and the undaunted duke of Benevento still refused

Last revolt of the Saxons. 803.

[80] Murat. Ann. 802.—Gibbon, vol. IX. p. 34.

[81] Murat. Ann. 803.—Daniel, tom. II. p. 137.

[82] Daniel (ub. sup. p. 120 and 147) studiously calls him King of Persia. But the kingdom of Persia was extinguished in 642 by the caliph Omar. Art. de vérif. tom. I. p. 470.

[83] These (especially the water-clock) are enumerated and described by Muratori. Ann. 807.

[84] Pfeffel, p. 35.

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to succumb. Against the Saxons the Emperor headed his army in person; little resistance appears to have been offered; and in pursuance of his former policy he thinned the numbers of the insurgents by transplanting ten thousand families into distant regions. At a Diet at Saltze in Franconia he subsequently received the capitulation of the whole Saxon nation. Their laws and liberties were preserved to them; they were released from tribute and other burthens and admitted to the privileges of the Franks, though the nomination of their governors and judges was reserved to the Emperor. But the same measure of indulgence was denied them in matters of religion; the Christian faith was imposed upon them; the former bloody decrees were renewed and extended; and the punishment of death awaited the transgression of the minutest religious institution. Little applause could be claimed by the politic prince who taught the best of religions by the most unchristian means, merely as a curb to his unruly subjects. Idolaters by education or choice, they became hypocrites by compulsion; and the double stain was only to be effaced by the gradual course of time.[85]

Diet of Salzte. 804.

The reduction of Barcelona, Bohemia, and Be-

[85] Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 35.—Voltaire (Essai sur les Mœurs, c. XV. and Empire, ann. 788-792) reprobates the silence of Daniel, Velly, Montesquieu, and Hénault, upon that "abominable tribunal," the *Wehmic* Court, which for its sanguinary persecution of Heretics rivalled the horrors of the Inquisition. But Voltaire is mistaken in attributing this tribunal to Charlemagne as it did not exist till the thirteenth century. Art de vérif. tom. I. p. 555.

nevento was entrusted to the sons of the Emperor. The youngest, Lewis King of Aquitaine, marched into Catalonia, and quickly overwhelmed Zaddo the rebel governor, who vainly looked for assistance from the court of Cordoba.[86] The arms of the eldest, Charles Duke of Maine, were no less prevalent in Bohemia: the Sclavonians were defeated; their chief perished in battle; and Bohemia, Lusatia, and Misnia were added to the imperial dominions.[87] But to Pepin, King of Italy, a harder task had been assigned. During the life of Prince Grimbald the arms of that king reaped but little harvest: continued incursions into the Beneventine territory left the Lombards still unbroken; nor was it until after the deaths both of Grimbald and Pepin that the dutchy became tributary to the Empire. The pacific disposition of the successor of Grimbald, rather than the arms of the Franks, effected the long-desired object; and after a war of nearly eighteen years, Grimbald II. purchased peace by the payment of a moderate tribute.[88]

Barcelona reduced. 802.

Bohemia, &c. conquered. 805.

Benevento becomes tributary. 811.

At the mature age of sixty-four Charlemagne made his Will, which, having been approved of by the *States*, was sent to Rome to be confirmed and signed by the Pope. He divided his dominions between his three sons, Charles, Pepin, and Lewis; and gave liberty to his subjects, after the death of those princes, to choose their own sovereign, pro-

Will of Charlemagne. 806.

[86] Murat. Ann. 801.—Daniel, p. 121.

[87] Daniel, ub. sup.—Murat. Ann. 805.—Pfeffel, p. 37.

[88] Giannone, Lib. VI. c. 6.

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vided the person elected were of the royal house. One other clause in this instrument is too remarkable to be omitted. The sons of Charles were forbidden to put to death, or to mutilate, or blind, or consign to a cloister, any one of his grandsons, upon any pretext whatsoever.[89] Perhaps in dictating this extraordinary prohibition the remembrance of the children of his brother Carloman might have oppressed the soul of the Emperor. That the prohibition would itself be ineffective he might easily anticipate; that it was not wholly superfluous or inconsistent with the feeling of the times, the sequel of the Carlovingian history will sufficiently testify.

Charlemagne might now abandon himself to that repose which his age required; and for his personal exploits his reign might here be closed. But his sons were active and warlike: new aggressors were to be repulsed; and new conquests to be atchieved. About the year 808 the shores of France and Germany were for the first time visited by a ferocious band of strangers, afterwards but too well known to the rest of Europe. The northern boundary of the dominions of Charlemagne was the ocean, excepting only where the river Eyder (then the Daene) divides the extreme regions of the north from the mainland: there this river placed a limit to the Empire. Beyond this limit, in the narrow isthmus which parts the Baltic from the German Ocean, were settled the Danes or Normans, who

[89] Pfeffel.—Art de vérif. ub. sup.

had already infested the shores of Britain.[90] The incursions of these people across the Eyder were checked by the imperial troops;[91] but in their navy the Normans possessed the means of surprise and devastation against which the Franks were very inadequately provided. The Emperor was not remiss upon this occasion; he caused watch-towers to be built upon the coast; a number of new vessels to be constructed; and by such expedients he diminished a grievance which he was unable wholly to remedy. The Normans continued their periodical incursions; and finally obtained a footing in one of the fairest provinces of France.

Incursions by the Normans. 808.

The last days of Charlemagne were cruelly embittered by domestic loss. Scarcely had the afflicted father closed the grave over the princess Rotrude ere the news of the death of Pepin, King of Italy, again demanded the paternal tears; and in the succeeding year he was bereaved of his eldest son Charles, whom he had destined to succeed him in the largest share of his dominions. Lewis was now his only surviving son; but Pepin left a bastard named Bernard, on whom Charlemagne conferred the crown of Italy. To secure the residue of his dominions to Lewis, the Emperor resolved to associate him in the Empire; and having assembled the States at Aix-la-Chapelle, he obtained their approbation of his design. On the appointed day, Lewis attended his father to the holy altar, on

Death of Pepin, King of Italy. 8th July, 810.

And of Charles, Duke of Maine. 811.

Bernard, King of Italy.

Lewis associated in the Empire. 813.

[90] A.D. 787. Rapin, tom. I. p. 212. 4to. La Haye, 1724.

[91] Daniel, ub. sup. p. 152.—Pfeffel.

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which had been placed a second imperial crown. By the old Emperor's command, the Emperor elect raised the diadem and placed it on his own brow; —the first, though not the *last*, example of a self-crowned Emperor. Charlemagne did not long survive this ceremony. He expired at Aix early in the year 814, in the seventy-second of his age, and forty-sixth of his reign.[92]

Death of Charlemagne, 28th Jan. 814.

In person, Charlemagne was lofty and majestic; in manner and disposition, courteous and affable; and in spite of the sequestration of his nephews, and the coldblooded butchery of his prisoners, panegyric has declared him just and merciful. His enterprizing spirit, his active bravery, his persevering energy need no other record than the simple statement of his life. History appears content to charge him but with one fault—incontinence. The censure of this constitutional error he seems willing to have avoided, since in lawful wedlock he was the husband of five consecutive wives; and the loss of the one, repudiated or dead, was immediately replaced by another. At the decline, however, of his life after the death of his last queen we are informed that he solaced himself with *four* successive concubines;[93] and a nume-

[92] He was canonized in 1165 by the Antipope Paschal III. Struvius, p. 399. and fourteen years afterwards by Alexander III. Pfeffel, p. 38.—His tomb at Aix-la-Chapelle was opened by Otho III. in the year 1000, who stript the illustrious corpse of part of its ornaments. Charlemagne resented this sepulchral violation by appearing in a vision to Otho, and foretelling his death without heirs. Murat. Ann. 1000.—Struvius, p 148. 268.

[93] Mur. Ann. 800.

rous illegitimate progeny bore evidence that the trammels of wedlock were insufficient for the confinement of his passions.[94] Scandal has even converted his paternal affection for his daughters into too intense a sentiment.[95] He loved them at least too well to suffer their separation by marriage; and they were sedulously instructed under his own eye in the laudable pursuits of housewifery and embroidery.

Extent of his Dominions.

We have already seen the extent of his paternal dominions and watched the progress of their increase. At his death he was lord of Gaul, including the modern states of France, the Netherlands, Holland, Switzerland, and Savoy; of the *county* of Barcelona, including the greater portion of the north of Spain between the Pyrenees and the Ebro; of the most part of modern Germany from the Eyder to the Alps, and from the Rhine to the Oder; of the modern Bohemia; of much of the modern Hungary as far south as the Saave; of

[94] His lawful wives were, 1. Himiltrude, divorced 770;—2. Gisella of Lombardy, divorced 771;—3. Hildegarde of Swabia (by whom he had Charles, Pepin, Lewis, Rotrude, Bertha, and Gisella), died 783;—4. Fastrade of Franconia, (by whom he had Thedrade and Hiltrude) died 793;—and 5. Liutgarde of Swabia, died 800.—The illegitimate children best known, were Drogo, Thierri, Hugh, Rothais, Adeltrude, and Rothilde.—Acording to some accounts Eginhard married Emma, daughter of Charlemagne. Pfeffel; and Bayle, Dict. art. Eginhart, note (B.) See Appendix, Table II.

[95] So Voltaire and after him Gibbon (vol. IX. p. 176) have chosen to understand the words of Eginhard (Vit. Car. Mag. c. XIX.) which certainly imply the damaged reputation of the *Ladies themselves*, and something like connivance in their father.—Having given the worst interpretation the words were capable of receiving, the French *Philosopher* calmly asks, "qu' importe au genre humain le détail de ces *faiblesses*, que n'ont influé en rien sur les affaires publiques?" Essai, c. XVI.

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Istria, Croatia, and Dalmatia;[96] of Italy, except the southern possessions of the Greek Empire; of Corsica and the Balearic Islands.[97] Even the Saxon kings of Britain acknowledged his sovereign authority; and he was sufficiently influential to restore Ardulph to the kingdom of Northumberland.[98]

His Government.

In the government of his dominions, Charlemagne consigned the administration of the palace to the great officers of state.[99] The Grand Almoner presided over spiritual matters; the Palatine count was the minister of justice within the court itself.[100] Two great assemblies were annually convened;—at the *Field of May*, the lay and spiritual magnates were bound, under penalty, to attend and assist in

[96] How, or when, these first became subject to him does not appear. See Père Daniel, tom. II. (p. 71.) But they were admitted to be his in the treaty with the Greek Emperor.

[97] Murat. Ann. 807-814. Pfeffel (p. 39.) thus states the boundaries of the Empire; on the west, the Atlantic and the Ebro;—on the south, the Mediterranean;—on the north, the German ocean and the Eyder;—on the east, the river Raab and the mountains of Bohemia.

[98] Giannone, tom. III. p. 64.—Murat. Ann. 808.—Daniel, p. 153.

[99] Pfeffel, relying upon the authority of Archbishop Hincmar, thus enumerates them;—the Grand Almoner; the Chancellor; the Grand Chamberlain; the Count Palatine; the Seneschal; the Butler; the Constable; the Grand Marshal; the four chief Huntsmen; and the Grand Falconer.

[100] This matter is involved in considerable darkness; but it may, I think, be collected that though in the early period of the French monarchy the Count Palatine, as the representative of the sovereign, was the sole dispenser of justice; yet in time, as suits multiplied, his functions were reduced to such causes as involved the rights of the crown or its great vassals, and to appeals from the decisions of the provincial tribunals. The Count Palatine was assisted in his deliberations by certain officers called Scabini, who seem to have been nominated by the people to check any undue influence of the crown. See Hallam's Middle Ages, vol. I. p. 272.

the deliberation of the national affairs; and all other freemen were permitted to be present and ratify by their voices the enactments of their superiors.[101] Into the autumnal meeting the nobles were alone admitted, and by them were imposed the taxes and other contributions. At these meetings, the clergy were divided from the nobles; and the nobles were again divided from the third estate.[102] In the administration of the laws, Charlemagne exercised great liberality. The conquered nations were allowed to retain their own institutions; and thus the Salic, the Ripuarian, the Saxon, the Bavarian, and the Lombard laws were concurrently administered in the Empire.[103] But the choice of the ministers of Justice was, in general, reserved to the Emperor himself; and on extraordinary occasions, his Commissaries were despatched into the provinces to hear and determine. For the government of France, Charlemagne from time to time promulgated his Ordinances or Capitularies, which bound the Franks alone, unless when other nations were specially designated. These capitularies extended from the highest to the minutest objects; by some the great Fiefs of the nation were regulated; by others the private economy of the imperial household was provided for, even to the sale of superfluous eggs and vege-

[101] Schmidt, vol. I. p. 582. ut populus interrogetur de capitulis, quæ in lege novitèr edita sunt. Capt. III. ann. 803. cap. XIX.

[102] Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 41.

[103] Concerning these laws, see particularly the twenty-eighth book of Montesquieu.

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tables. The Coinage and the weights and measures of the Kingdom were reformed; and to Charlemagne is attributed the division of money into Livres, Sous, and Deniers.

The nobles of Charlemagne were rich and powerful; but he prudently endeavoured to prevent their independence; and, to guard against their acquiring too great influence over his people, continually insisted on their attendance in his expeditions. The possessions of many were hereditary;[104] but in the bestowing of new *Benefices* (and he was by no means sparing in his bounty) he usually reserved to himself the right of resumption; and by prohibiting the alienation of lands by his feudatories repressed the increase of allodial estates, and the consequent curtailment of the crown possessions.[105]

His zeal for Religion.

To the affairs of Religion, Charlemagne delighted to apply himself. But it was the vice of his policy or zeal to propagate the mildest of Religions by the edge of the sword; and never were the doctrines of Mahommed written in more bloody characters, than was the faith of Christ in the eighth century. He frequently summoned Councils at which he himself presided; and points of doctrine the most subtle were discussed in his presence. He hazarded a breach with Pope Adrian by de-

[104] The subject of Fiefs becoming hereditary in France is discussed in the Abbé de Mably's Observations sur l' Hist. de France, Liv. I. c. 4. tom. I. p. 288.; and Liv. II. c. 5. tom. II. p. 173.

[105] Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 40.—Art de vérif. p. 555.—and the panegyric of the President Montesquieu, Esp. des Loix. Liv. XXXI. c. 18

nouncing the adoration of images; and even attempted to grasp the perplexing question of the procession of the Holy Ghost. Nor did the difficulties of this delicate matter embarrass the conqueror of nations; he decided for the double procession, though he was willing to obtain the confirmation of the Pope. An evasive answer by Leo appears to have satisfied the conscience of the Emperor, and France was still permitted to believe in the procession from the Son as well as the Father.[106] He diligently advanced the wealth and power of the clergy: made laws for the good government of the Church; and enforced the payment of tithes.[107] He founded several Bishoprics; and increased the episcopal authority, by investing the Bishops with judicial powers; admitting them into the national Council; and entirely exempting them from secular jurisdiction.

And for Learning.

In the various revolutions of Europe from the fall of the Western Empire to the accession of Charlemagne, literature and the arts had been well nigh extinguished. Under the Gothic Kings of Italy, learning had obtained some protection, and the structures of the Goths might be entitled to

[106] Daniel, ub. sup. p. 156.—Gibbon, vol. XI. p. 171. and note 5. Mosheim, cent. IX. part II. c. 3. s. 18.—Dupin, vol. VII. c. 11.

[107] The Abbé de Mably denies that Charlemagne insisted on Tithes as a *necessary* tribute; yet as early as 779, a capitulary of Pepin d' Heristal enjoins the payment of Tithes. Observations sur l' Hist. de France, tom. II. p. 102. Liv. II. c. 2. Charlemagne directed the Tithe to be divided into three parts; one for repairing and beautifying the Church; one for the use of the poor and travellers; and one for the support of the Clergy. Schmidt, vol. I. p. 630. Edit. Ulm. 1785.

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admiration.[108] But throughout the rest of Europe all was darkness; and in the eighth century Italy herself could boast but a scanty catalogue of learned names; amongst whom Paul the Deacon, Peter of Pisa, Paolino of Aquileia, and Dungalo of Pavia, were the most conspicuous.[109] Patrons were wanting to excite emulation; and the scarcity and dearness of books damped the energies of the most ardent. The toilsome mode by which copies were to be multiplied, the expensive materials upon which they were to be written,[110] and the almost general ignorance of the language in which they were composed, restricted their circulation; for even those who occupied the most conspicuous posts in the Church could lay claim to but small proficiency in the Latin language,[111] though that language still continued to be used in all public documents. In the various incursions of the barbarians, a multitude of strange dialects had spread themselves over Europe. In Italy the Greek tongue was not wholly extinguished;[112] whilst the Latin was dishonoured and enriched by an admixture of Gothic and Lombard. In Germany the Teutonic overwhelmed the Latin; in France the corruption of pure Latinity produced a bastard

[108] Muratori, Antiq. Ital. Dissert. XXIV.

[109] Tiraboschi, Storia della Letteratura Italiana, tom. III. p. 155–176. Edit. Firenze. 1805.

[110] Paper, as well as printing, seems to have been unknown at this time. Murat. Antiq. Dissert. XLIII. p. 602.

[111] There is a curious specimen of Papal Latinity in Muratori, Diss. XLIII. p. 590.

[112] Tiraboschi, p. 230.

dialect called the *Roman*, entirely distinct from the Teutonic of the Franks, and the Celtic of the Bretons.[113] In Spain, the *Roman* seems early to have taken root; but easily permitted engrafting the language of its Saracen conquerors. No wonder then if the age of the first Carlovingian sovereign could produce but one historian,[114] and a puny band of ecclesiastical casuists and Latin versifiers.[115] It was the merit of Charlemagne to dispel this chaotic darkness; and by calling the small and scattered particles of learning into action to produce collision and vivification. To his native tongue, Charlemagne united a competent knowledge of the Latin and some acquaintance with the Greek. He eagerly sought out the few who in the general ignorance were comparatively learned; and Britain may be proud in having supplied one of the most erudite men of the day.[116] He collected around him those capable of imparting knowledge, founded schools, purchased books, and became himself a student.[117] His sons were no less carefully imbued with the reviving taste for literature; and whilst they were trained in the favourite military exercises, were taught to value the less dazzling acquisitions of peace. Knowledge was with him

[113] Murat. Antiq. Ital. Dissert. XXXII. and XXXIII.

[114] Paul the Deacon. Tiraboschi, ub. sup. p. 233.

[115] Tirab. 218. 231. Murat. ub. sup. p. 592.

[116] Chaufepié's Dictionary, Art. Alcuin; and Dupin, tom. VI.

[117] Daniel (tom. II. p. 67.) mentions with complacency the School of Charlemagne, where the King and other members assumed the names of distinguished persons of antiquity: as David, Homer, Flaccus, and *Damœtas!*

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the sure path to preferment both in Church and State. Nor will the fame of Charlemagne as the revivor of learning be seriously injured, if we admit that he himself was unable to write.[118]

And the Arts.

The arts are also indebted to this Monarch for his cheering regard to their forlorn condition. At Aix-la-Chapelle, which he made his capital, he raised a Cathedral and a Palace; he drew out from obscurity the mosaics and precious relics of antiquity; and under his auspices the service of religion was rendered more solemn and imposing by music worthy its celebration.[119] If little were done under his reign, his anxiety for improvement deserves approbation: and it is surely no small praise to Charlemagne that his voice was the first to call the slumbering artist into action.

These strenuous exertions in favour of civilization may fairly entitle this prince to the surname of "The Great." Born at a time when idolatry and superstition usurped the place of religion; when the sciences of government and legislation were a mystery; when literature and art were neglected and unknown; this renowned emperor soared above the cloud which covered the face of

[118] The assertion that Charlemagne could not write is founded upon the words of Eginhard "*tentabat* et scribere, sed parùm prosperè successit labor," —(ch. 25.) which seem tolerably plain. The Annotator on Heiss's History, however, affirms (Liv. I. c. 2. p. 26. note) that he constantly kept pen and ink at his bed-head, and never woke without writing down some remark pious or political!—And Mr. James calls the passage of Eginhard "erroneous." Hist. of Charlemagne, p. 403.

[119] Murat. Antiq. Ital. Dissert. XXIV.—Tiraboschi, ub. sup. 166-267.

Europe, and became himself the luminary from which others derived their light. But to his unjustifiable and successful aggressions upon the neighbouring nations he probably owed his honourable appellation; and in the eyes of his barbarous contemporaries the blood-stained conqueror of the Saxons was an object of higher estimation than the revivor and encourager of the peaceful arts.

CHAPTER II.

REIGNS OF LEWIS I., LOTHAIRE, LEWIS II., CHARLES II., AND CHARLES III. DISMEMBERMENT OF THE EMPIRE.

CHAPTER II.

THE glory of the Carlovingian race, which had been carried to the highest pitch by Charlemagne, expired with that Monarch; and the history of his descendants is little more than a series of errors and misfortunes. The son in arms against the father, the brother against the brother, the closest ties of kindred torn to pieces by guilt and ambition, the Empire convulsed by domestic commotion, and harassed by foreign invasion; such are the melancholy events which characterize the residue of the ninth century.

Lewis I. (the Debonaire.) 814.

The commencement of the reign of Lewis I., whose gentle disposition procured him the surname of Debonaire, was marked by acts which promised a happy issue. He began by investigating and correcting abuses in Church and State; he restored the exiled Saxons to their country; and showed himself zealous for the benefit of his subjects in general. But his great affection for his sons betrayed him to an act of generosity from which he was doomed to reap the bitterest fruits. Lothaire, the eldest, was associated in the Empire;

to Pepin, the second, he made over Aquitaine; and Bavaria was assigned to Lewis, the youngest.[1] Though he had assumed the imperial crown in the lifetime of his father, Lewis I. was again crowned at Rheims by Pope Stephen IV. together with his Empress Hermenigarde. That Princess survived her coronation about two years; and the Emperor immediately espoused Judith, daughter of Guelph I., Count of Weingarten in Swabia.

Partition of the Empire. 817.

The gift of Italy by Charlemagne to his grandson Bernard had stripped the Imperial Crown of its brightest jewel. But the ill-conceived attempt of Bernard to seize upon the whole Empire, as the heir of an elder son of Charlemagne, called forth the activity of Lewis; and the bastard son of Pepin was quickly compelled to throw himself on the clemency of his uncle. The mild Lewis was content that his treason should be punished with the loss of his kingdom and his eyes; but the operation of blinding was so rudely performed that the unhappy victim survived his agony only a few hours. Resolved to guard against his other illegitimate kinsmen, Lewis seized his three bastard brothers, Drogo, Thierri, and Hugo; and though totally unconnected with the treason of Bernard, they were condemned to the sacred tonsure and the austerities of monastic seclusion.[2]

Revolt and death of Bernard, King of Italy. 818.

The severity of Bernard's fate had little effect in overawing the discontented subjects of Lewis.

Insurrections.

[1] Struvius, p. 157.

[2] Père Daniel, tom. II. p. 199.

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Bretainy once again asserted her independence; the Gascons rose in open rebellion; and the Duke of Pannonia followed their example. Nor was the Empire free from the attacks of foreign invaders. The Normans on the West and the Bulgarians in the East were perpetually harassing the frontiers with their ravages; whilst the Saracens continued to lay waste the French territories in Spain. There, about this time, the Christian inhabitants of Navarre, after the example of the Asturians, had chosen for themselves a King; and however they may at first have affected obedience to the Emperor, the Kingdom soon ripened into an independent monarchy.[3]

Origin of the Kingdom of Navarre.

But the open enemies of Lewis were destined to be less injurious to his fortunes than a body of men whose profession was peace and goodwill on earth. The clergy had presumed on the favour they enjoyed from Pepin and Charlemagne; and Lewis saw the necessity of crushing their growing presumption. To reform that body was his anxious desire;[4] but unfortunately the guilt of blood rested on the conscience of the reformer; and the fate of the unhappy Bernard was perpetually recalled to his remembrance by the very persons he was desirous of depressing. Too humane to think on this unlucky event with indifference, too tinctured with

[3] Anquetil, tom. II. p. 57.—Mariana, (Lib. VIII. c. 1.) places the foundation of the *Kingdom* of Navarre in the middle of the *eighth* century. The authors of L'Art de vérif. (tom. I. p. 736) postpone it till 857.

[4] Mosheim, vol. II. p. 310.—The first *female* convent was founded in the reign of Lewis I. ibid. 311.

the superstition of the age to defy the reproaches of the priests, the Emperor suffered himself to be persuaded that the punishment of his rebellious nephew had kindled the fiercest wrath of Heaven, which nothing but an abject penance could deprecate and allay. Impressed with this notion he called together an assembly at Atigny; and in the most solemn manner pronounced his own condemnation, and implored and received absolution from the Church. Nor was his penitence confined to the dead; he now gave permission to his brothers to withdraw from their cloister; but his good intentions of restoring them to the world were for the present frustrated by their voluntary adherence to the profession they had originally been compelled to embrace.[5]

Penance of the Emperor. 822.

That Lothaire had received the title of Emperor had been solely owing to the generosity of his father. But the impatient prince, who now probably meditated that guilty course of ambition which he afterwards pursued, was anxious to hold the imperial title by a stronger tenure than the favour of Lewis. He took occasion to visit Rome, and required that the Pope should crown him Emperor. Paschall I., who then filled the Chair of St. Peter, readily complied with his desire; it had been, since the time of Charlemagne, the unceasing endeavour of the Popes to inculcate the doctrine, that the Emperors of the West were to be indebted to them for the imperial diadem; and the corona-

Lothaire crowned Emperor. 823.

[5] Daniel, ub. sup. p. 211.

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tion of Lothaire now afforded a practical illustration of this favourite maxim. But Lothaire was not unmindful of the imperial prerogative. The Romans were required to take the oath of submission; justice was publicly administered in Rome by the imperial Commissaries; and it was enforced, and admitted by the Romans, that the approval and confirmation of the Emperor was necessary on every new election of a Pope. In pursuance of this admission a joint decree was made by Lothaire and Eugenius II., the successor of Paschall, by which the consecration of the newly-elected Pontiff was prohibited, until his election should be ratified by the Emperor.

Birth of Charles the Bald. 823.

In the year 823 the Empress Judith gave birth to a son; and as she importunately desired to see the young Charles invested with some portion of the imperial territory, Lewis began to feel the imprudence he had been guilty of, in the appropriation of dominions to his other sons. The three eldest were with difficulty persuaded to assent to a new partition; and Charles was invested with Swabia and great portion of the modern Switzerland, under the title of the Kingdom of Rhætia. But Lothaire, who had shewn the greatest reluctance to this new arrangement, soon repented of the assent he had given; and finding himself supported by many of the superior Clergy who resented the attempted reforms of Lewis, broke out into open rebellion against his father. The illus-

New partition of Territory. 829.

Revolt against the Emperor by his sons. 830.

[6] Pfeffel, p. 45. 46. Sismondi, Hist. des Français, tom. II. p. 460.

trious descent of Walla, his great apparent sanctity, his rank as Abbot of Corbie, placed him amongst the most influential of the priests of France; and he ventured publicly to upbraid the Emperor with his curtailment of his son's possessions, and with his impious enmity to the Church. The Empress became the object of resentment and slander; and she was now openly accused of a criminal intercourse with Bernard, Count of Barcelona and Septimania, who had been appointed guardian to the young Charles. The two other sons of Lewis declared against him and joined the rebellion of Lothaire. The Empress was arrested and sent prisoner to a convent at Poitiers, where she was forced to take the veil; and the Emperor was compelled to seek safety in flight. Bernard was beyond the reach of the insurgents; but the iniquitous Lothaire wreaked his vengeance on Herbert, brother of the favourite, and inhumanly put out his eyes.[7]

Their submission. 831.

These detestable excesses in some measure wrought their own cure. A monk named Gondebald succeeded in opening the eyes of Pepin and the younger Lewis to the enormity of their conduct; and Lothaire, deserted by his brothers, found it expedient to make terms with his father. The gentle Lewis declared him degraded from the rank of Emperor, and banished him to Italy. Walla was sent prisoner to a strong castle near the Lake of Geneva; and the Empress, released from her

[7] Daniel, tom. II. p. 245.—Mur. Ann. 830.—Pfeffel.

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confinement, was permitted to clear herself by oath from the charge of adultery.[8]

They again revolt. 833.

The reconciliation of the guilty sons with their indulgent father was hollow and short-lived. The assignment of Aquitaine to the son of Judith gave new cause of offence; and the three brothers were once more ranged in battle against the Emperor.

Pope Gregory IV. in the rebel Camp.

Lothaire even prevailed upon the Pope to march with him from Italy, and the presence of the holy father in the rebel camp struck new dismay and consternation into the timid heart of Lewis. He now called together the Bishops of France; and these prelates, who had watched with jealousy the growth of the Bishop of Rome, were easily persuaded to exhort their *brother* against giving countenance to this unnatural rebellion. But this fraternal remonstrance offended the pride of Gregory, who threatened the Gallic bishops and their sovereign with excommunication;[9] and Lewis found nothing left but to submit his cause to the God of battles. The hostile armies met on a plain between Basle and Strasburg; some attempts were made at conciliation; but the bad faith which distinguished these negociations gave to the spot of their interchange the name of the *Field of Falsehood.*[10] The secret machinations of the rebel party appear to have produced an effect, almost magical, upon the

[8] Daniel, tom. II. p. 250.—Mur. Ann. 831.—Sismondi, Hist. des Français, tom. III. p. 15.

[9] This threat was retorted upon the Bishop of Rome by his French Brethren;—"*Si excommunicaturus advenit, excommunicatus abibit.*"

[10] *Le Champ de Mensonge.*—Das Lugenfeld. Struvius, p. 160.

army of Lewis; for in one night the unhappy Emperor found himself abandoned by nearly all his forces. Thus deserted and betrayed, he threw himself in despair into the hands of the rebels. Judith was again made captive and imprisoned in Lombardy; the Emperor was consigned to the custody of Lothaire; and after being led prisoner to Soissons, and thence to the Abbey of Prume, was deprived of his son Charles, the last solace in his affliction.

The Emperor surrenders to his Sons.

The unnatural Lothaire left no means untried to prevail on his father to renounce the imperial crown: but though he was tortured by the false tidings of his Empress having voluntarily assumed the monastic habit, and of the death of his darling son, the fallen Prince still clung to the shattered image of his dignity. The priests were therefore again resorted to; and it was resolved to commit the fate of the western Emperor to a Synod of Bishops, whose consciences were sufficiently pliable to suit the sinister purposes of Lothaire. The unfortunate Lewis found no favour in the eyes of his judges, who perceived guilt in the endeavours he had made to defend himself against rebellion. He was declared to have forfeited the Empire upon several heads of accusation; the death of Bernard, King of Italy, and the monastic incarceration of his brothers were put forward among the charges; he had exposed his people to slaughter by leading them against those sons, whose territories he had diminished in favour of his youngest; he had

And is deposed by the Bishops.

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impiously marched at the head of his army during Lent; and even dared to interfere in the administration of the affairs of the Church. These were the offences which were fully established against him in an assembly of Bishops, where Ebbon, Archbishop of Rheims, presided; and for which he was condemned to be injuriously stripped of the imperial ensigns, and consigned to perpetual imprisonment. The son of Charlemagne patiently acquiesced in this extraordinary decision, and was even induced to acknowledge in public the greatness of his guilt and the justice of his sentence.[11]

The spectacle of a Monarch deposed by a Synod of priests was new to the world, and excited a spirit of re-action, which quickly operated in favour of the fallen and injured Prince. Even the younger Lewis was touched by his father's misfortunes, and remonstrated with his brother Lothaire on the rigour of the Emperor's confinement. But had the heart of Lothaire been left to its own dictates, the voice of duty and compassion might have been lifted in vain. He was touched by the news that all France and Germany were in arms; and that his brothers Lewis and Pepin were marching onwards to his destruction. Lothaire fled with precipitation into Burgundy, leaving the fallen Emperor at liberty to remount his throne. But the scrupulous Lewis, having been degraded by the Church, refused to re-assert his power unless ab-

He is restored. 834.

[11] Murat. Ann. 833.—Daniel, tom. II. p. 268-274.

solved by the voice of the clergy; nor did he resume the imperial ensigns till the idle ceremony had been completed.[12] A partial peace was thus restored; the two penitent kings were reconciled to their father; the Empress and her son were again restored to him; and Lothaire alone remained to be reduced.

Lothaire for a time evinced no disposition to trust to his father's clemency, and with such troops as he was able to collect continued his progress of cruelty and rebellion. He laid siege to Chalons which was taken and burned; three of the captains who had boldly defended the city were beheaded; and Gerberge, sister of Count Bernard, accused of no other crime than her affinity to the enemy of Lothaire, was dragged from a cloister and drowned in the river Saone. At length alarmed at the superior force of his father and dreading the consequences of a defeat, he was induced to listen to a message of peace from the Emperor; and after a struggle between prudence and ambition, condescended to throw himself at his father's feet and implore forgiveness. "I pardon you," exclaimed the pious Lewis, "I restore to your adherents their forfeited possessions; I give you back Italy;—but thither you must instantly return, and never again set foot in France, unless by my special permission."[13]

Lothaire submits. 836.

In the year ensuing the reduction of Lothaire, the Emperor was induced by the solicitations of

Charles invested with Neustria. 837.

[12] Daniel, tom. II. p. 278.

[13] Daniel, tom. II. p. 283.

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Judith to increase the territories of their son Charles at the expence of his elder brothers; and Neustria had been already assigned to him when the death of Pepin, King of Aquitaine, gave occasion for a new partition. That Prince, indeed, left two sons, Pepin and Charles; but their claims to their father's kingdom were forgotten. The extraordinary influence of the Empress over her docile husband was never more conspicuous than at this period. The certainty of Lothaire's succession in the Empire made Judith extremely desirous of conciliating his favour, and of thus securing to her son his possessions after the death of his father. Swayed by her counsels the Emperor was induced to enrich the most guilty of his sons and to pass over Lewis; who, if he had participated in his downfall, had been mainly instrumental in restoring him to the throne. Stung by this injurious preference the King of Bavaria once again took up arms; and though his weakness at first compelled him to dissemble and seek a new reconciliation with his father, he soon found himself sufficiently strong to declare open war against him. His rebellion was favoured by the discontented state of Aquitaine, where the rights of the sons of Pepin found some zealous supporters. But this insurrection was without difficulty suppressed, and the Emperor was at liberty to turn all his force against his rebellious son. It was upon this expedition that the pious Emperor terminated his eventful life. Disease compelled him to halt near Mentz; and finding his

Death of Pepin, King of Aquitaine. 838.

New division of Territory.

New revolt of the younger Lewis. 839.

end approaching, he declared Lothaire his successor in the Empire, and placidly prepared himself for his last agony. In the true spirit of Christianity, he forgave the rebel Lewis; and tranquilly resigned his spirit, in the sixty-third year of his life, and the twenty-seventh of his reign. By his first wife Hermenegarde he had, besides his three sons Lothaire, Pepin, and Lewis, three daughters, the youngest of whom Gisella was destined to be the mother of an Emperor. His only offspring by Judith was Charles, afterwards surnamed the Bald.[14]

Death of Lewis I. 840.

No sooner did Lothaire learn the death of his father, than he resolved to keep no terms with his brothers; but to seize upon their territories, and thus again to re-unite the divided Empire. Lewis was already in possession of the crown of Germany; Charles had mounted the throne of France; and the two brothers united their forces against the eldest, as against their common enemy. In the memorable battle of Fontenaye, near Auxerre, the hostile armies encountered each other in one of the most sanguinary battles that had ever stained the soil of France;[15] and on this occasion the lives of a hundred thousand men were sacrificed to the mad ambition of one of the most flagrant of mankind. Nor did this carnage terminate the war;

Lothaire I. Emperor.

Lothaire defeated at Fontenaye. 841.

[14] Daniel, tom. II. p. 291.—Struvius, p. 163.—Pfeffel, p. 48.—Schmidt, Book III. chap. 3.

[15] This Battle is, by some writers, placed in the year 842. The Abbé Lebœuf has however incontestably established its date, 25th June, 841, in his Essay in the Histoire de l'Académie des Inscriptions. tom. XVIII. p. 303.

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for though Lothaire sustained a complete defeat and was compelled to fly, almost alone, to Aix-la-Chapelle, he soon found means to collect another army. Meanwhile the Bishops, who lost no opportunity to disseminate the notion that the crowns of Kings were at their disposal, took leave to declare Lothaire deprived of the Empire, with which they were generously pleased to invest his brothers. "Receive," said they, "the kingdom by the authority of God; govern according to his will; we are the proclaimers of that will; we exhort, we command you to obey." Lewis and Charles affected no reluctance to receive dominion thus divinely bestowed; to give greater solemnity to their amicable relations they assembled their united forces; and in the presence of an immense multitude interchanged an oath of mutual defence and attachment, and swore never to compromise the interests of each other by a pacific treaty with Lothaire.[16] They soon afterwards however opened a conciliatory negotiation with the Emperor, whose circumstances were too much in disorder to allow him to reject their offers. Accordingly, at Verdun, a definitive treaty was entered into, by which the vast estates of Charlemagne were divided between his three grandsons. Lothaire retained the impe-

Peace of Verdun. 843.

[16] Daniel, tom. II. p. 336. This oath has been preserved. The King of Bavaria swore in *Teutonic;* the King of France in *Roman;* and the seeds of the modern German and French are there dimly discernible. See the oath in both languages in Sismondi, Hist. des Français, tom. III. p. 49, note; and the 2d Mémoire sur les Révolutions de la Langue Francoise, by M. Duclos, in the 17th vol. of the Hist. de l'Académie des Inscriptions.

rial dignity, with the sovereignty of the city of Rome, the kingdom of Italy, and the provinces between the Alps and the Rhine, and those between the Rhone, the Saone, the Meuse, and the Scheld. Lewis, surnamed the Germanic, had all the provinces on the right of the Rhine; and on the left, the cities of Spires, Worms, and Mentz, with their territories. The residue was assigned to Charles; and the three Monarchies were declared for ever separate and independent of one another.[17] In this arrangement the sons of Pepin, King of Aquitaine, were entirely overlooked or forgotten; and these young Princes, who merited a better treatment from Lothaire, were finally stripped of their paternal dominions: Charles was compelled to enter into holy orders, and ultimately became Archbishop of Mentz;[18] Pepin in the vain attempt to recover Aquitaine was made prisoner by his uncle, and died in captivity.[19]

Lewis crowned King of Italy. 844.

Shortly after the Peace of Verdun, Lothaire caused his eldest son Lewis to be crowned King of Italy by Pope Sergius II.; and the new King was soon called into action by the alarming progress of the Saracens in the south. These formidable invaders, after gaining possession of Sicily, repeatedly visited the coast of Italy; and at length became firmly settled in the south during a civil war in Benevento. On the assassination of Prince

[17] Art. de vérif. tom. II. p. 2.—Pfeffel.—Koch, Revol. de l'Europe, tom. I. c. 3.

[18] He died in 863.—Art. de vérif. tom. III. p. 230.

[19] Daniel, tom. II. p. 289-386.

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Sicardo in 839 the rival elections of Radelchisio and Siconolfo distracted the principality; and the former distrusting his own subjects had recourse to a band of Saracens, who were stationed under the walls of the city of Bari. But the wily strangers too well perceived the weakness of their Italian friend; the city was surprized by night; and the Saracens, after a frightful massacre of the inhabi-

840. tants, gained complete possession. The exigencies of the Beneventine Prince compelled him to overlook the injury; and as his rival had received a reinforcement of Saracens from Spain, the horrors of domestic strife were increased by the presence

The Saracens ravage Italy. 846. of the infidel strangers. They quickly spread themselves over Calabria, navigated the Tiber as far as Rome itself, and plundered the quarter of St. Peter's.[20] Against these terrible invaders the Italian King marched at the head of an army. His first expedition was tarnished by defeat and flight; his second proved more auspicious; the Saracens

But are defeated. 848. were defeated in their turn; and Lewis succeeded in reconciling the rival Princes of Benevento by dividing the principality between them. Siconolfo obtained the title of Prince of Salerno; and the

Triple division of Beneventto 851. detachment of Capua from Salerno soon afterwards converted the ancient Dutchy into three distinct Dynasties.[21]

[20] This portion of the History of Italy is vigorously sketched by Gibbon, vol. X. p. 61-67.

[21] Giannone, Lib. VI. c. 6. s. 3.—Lib. VII. s. 1. and 2. The *County* of Capua was afterwards exalted into a Principality by Otho I. in 968.—ibid. Lib. VIII. c. 1.

In the year 849, Lothaire associated his son Lewis in the Empire, and thenceforward became indifferent to the cares of the state. For awhile he solaced himself with the pleasures of the chace; but at length remorse for his former life appears to have touched his heart; and he resolved to renounce the world and to make his peace with heaven. He divided his dominions between his three sons; Lewis, who in 850 had been crowned Emperor by Pope Leo IV., retained Italy; Lothaire received the territory between the Rhone, the Saone, the Meuse, the Scheld, and the Rhine; which tract of country then first obtained the name of Lotharingia, or Lorraine;[22] and Charles was invested with the kingdom of Provence, comprehended between the Rhone, the Mediterranean, and the Alps. Lothaire survived his abdication only a few days; and died in the monastery of Prum in Ardennes, in the sixtieth year of his age.[23] Shortly before him expired the illustrious Leo IV. the brave defender of Rome against the Saracens; and those who have asserted the reality of a female Pope[24] interpose her between Leo and Benedict III.

Lewis associated. 849.

Abdication and Death of Lothaire. 855.

The extensive dominions of Charlemagne were now divided between *five* independent sovereigns;

Lewis II. Emperor.

[22] It comprised Switzerland, Geneva, part of Savoy, Franche Comté; the Bishoprics of Mentz, Spires, Worms, Cologne, Treves, and Liege; the Dutchy of Cleves; Alsace; the counties of Holland and Zealand; the Cambresis, Luxemburg, Limburg, Gueldres, and Brabant. Daniel, tom. III. p. 236.—The Germans still call Lorraine, Lothringen.

[23] Murat. Ann.—Pfeffel.—Art de vérif. tom. II. p. 2.

[24] See Gibbon, vol. IX. p. 197, and notes 129-132.

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Lewis II. King of Germany. Charles II. King of France. Lothaire, King of Lorraine. Charles, King of Provence. Death of the last. 863.

Lewis II. King of Germany, his brother Charles II. King of France, and their nephews, the Emperor Lewis II., Lothaire, King of Lorraine, and Charles, King of Provence. The dominions of the Emperor were increased by the cession of Alsace[25] by his brother Lothaire; and on the death of the King of Provence in 863 his estates were divided between his surviving brothers, Lewis and Lothaire. But the spirit of discord was still alive amongst the descendants of Charlemagne. Lewis of Germany, forgetting his oath and treaty, attacked the territories of his brother Charles; whilst Carloman, son of Lewis, and Lewis, son of Charles, took up arms against their respective fathers.

Humiliation of the Emperor to Pope Nicholas I. 858.

Nothing could have been more favourable to the pretensions of the clergy than the weakness and dissensions of the Carlovingian princes. Whilst the bishops were intent upon establishing their supremacy over kings, the Roman Pontiff was no less eager to assert his authority over all other bishops; and on the election of Nicholas, the successor of Benedict III., the Emperor Lewis condescended to play a part as derogatory to his rank as it was flattering to the newly-crowned Pope. On the occasion of Nicholas visiting the Emperor, the *August* Lewis went forth on foot to meet him; and taking hold of the Pontiff's bridle led his horse for

[25] Alsace, as early as the seventh century, was divided into two Counties, the Sundgau, and the Nordgau; and was governed by Counts, afterwards called *Landgraves*. The counts of the Sundgau were the ancestors of Rodolph of Hapsburg, the founder of the House of Austria. Art de vérif. tom. III. p. 72.

the distance of a bowshot. After a sumptuous repast, the Emperor accompanied the Pope on horseback towards Rome, and dismounting in a large plain again officiated as lackey.[26] This act of submission was not lost upon Nicholas: and the irregular conduct of Lothaire, King of Lorraine, soon furnished him with an occasion for displaying his resistless power. Lothaire had been persuaded by his uncle Charles to espouse Thieutberge, the great-grandaughter of Childebrand, brother of Charles Martel. But his passion for his concubine Valdrade taught him to look coldly on his bride, whom he dismissed from his bed under pretence of an incestuous intrigue with her brother Hugh, Count of Burgundy. The discarded queen established her innocence by ordeal;[27] but Lothaire was unsatisfied by the decision of heaven, and fortunately received the sanction of two archbishops for the degradation and divorce of his consort. He immediately afterwards married Valdrade. It was now that Nicholas deemed it proper to interpose his authority. He first excommunicated the archbishops of Cologne and Treves, depriving them of their sees; and then despatched a messenger to Lothaire, enjoining him to take back Thieutberge to his bed. This double assumption provoked the Emperor Lewis to revisit Rome in no friendly feeling toward Nicholas. But being warned by a

Divorce of Lothaire, King of Lorraine. 858.

Interference of the Pope. 862.

[26] A piedi presa la briglia del cavallo pontificio, a guisa di un Valletto. Murat. Ann. 858.

[27] She prudently submitted to the experiment of Boiling Water *by proxy*. Struvius, p. 174.

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seasonable illness, he was induced to send a message of conciliation to the Pope; and returned to succour Benevento against the rapacious Saracens. Thus deserted by his brother, Lothaire began to tremble at the threat of excommunication; and as he saw his repudiated queen supported by his uncle Charles, prudence triumphed for a while over passion; and Thieutberge was reinstated in the court of Lorraine. But the triumph of prudence was of short duration; love and Valdrade prevailed; and Thieutberge was once more ignominiously driven from her husband's bed. The guilty Lothaire had flattered himself with the hope of soothing the wrath of the Pope by a personal interview, and resolved to set forth for Rome. At this juncture Nicholas died, and Adrian II. succeeded. But the new Pope was as inflexible as his predecessor; and after a fruitless visit to Rome, the King of Lorraine retraced his steps towards the Alps, which, however, he was not destined to cross. At Placentia he was seized with a fever which hurried him to his grave; and as he died without lawful issue,[28] his estates were divided between Lewis the Germanic and Charles the Bald, in exclusion of the rights of the Emperor.[29] The rival queens retired into a cloister;

Submission of Lothaire. 865.

He relapses.

Adrian II. Pope. 867.

Death of Lothaire. 869.

[28] He left one son by Valdrade, Hugh, titular Duke of Alsace; and two daughters; Gisla, married to Godfrey, Duke of Friesland; and Bertha married, first to Theobald, father of Hugh, Count of Provence, and secondly to Adalbert II. Marquis of Tuscany. Art de vérif. tom. III. p. 747.

[29] Murat. Ann.—Daniel, tom. II. p. 417-466.—The estates of Lothaire were so divided as that the Jura, the mountains of the Vosges, the Moselle, and the little river Ourte became the line of division. Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 60.

and thus terminated the scandal of Lothaire and Valdrade, so grievous to the parties most deeply interested, and so advantageous to the pretensions of the see of Rome. CHAPTER II.

Meanwhile the Emperor was diligently carrying on the siege of Bari, which after holding out for four years surrendered in 871. But his laudable design of expelling the Saracens from Italy and Sicily was thwarted by the ill-timed jealousy of the eastern Emperor,[30] the disaffection of Campania and Lucania, and the treachery of Adalgiso, Prince of Benevento, who even dared to seize the person of the Emperor, and detained him prisoner for several weeks.[31] Upon his release he repaired to Rome, where he received from Adrian II. the crown of Lorraine. But his pretensions to that kingdom were never realized; and after a series of fruitless negotiations with his uncles, he died about three years from his coronation in Rome.[32] Lewis has been reproached with his tame submission to the will of his Empress; but his memory is unstained by any of the vices of his family; and some degree of glory must be allowed him for the check which he gave to the Saracen invaders.

Capture of Bari. 871.

Death of Lewis II. 875.

The death of Lewis II. without male issue immediately opened a competition for the imperial dignity between his uncles, the kings of Germany

Charles II. Emperor.

[30] Gibbon, vol. X. p. 248.

[31] Giannone, Lib. VII. s. 3.—Muratori has given a very curious specimen of the Poetry of the ninth century composed on this melancholy occasion, in the 40th dissertation of his Italian Antiquities.

[32] Murat. Ann.—Pfeffel.

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and France. But the superior diligence and intrigue of Charles the Bald prevailed; by a rapid march to Rome he secured the crown of the Empire, which he received from Pope John VIII.; and was afterwards at Pavia elected King of Lombardy by the estates, and crowned by the archbishop of Milan.[33] The baffled Lewis turned his army into France and avenged his disappointment by ravaging his brother's territory, but was quickly compelled to retreat beyond the Rhine.

25th Dec. 875.

Death of Lewis the Germanic. 876.

On the death of Lewis the Germanic in 876, his three sons, Carloman, Lewis, and Charles, amicably divided his possessions. Bavaria, Bohemia, and the eastern provinces were appropriated by the eldest; Franconia, Saxony, Friesland, and the north of Lorraine were occupied by Lewis; and the residue by Charles afterwards destined to an inglorious height of dominion. But the Emperor Charles the Bald thought proper to put in his claim to the German Lorraine, and attempted to wrest that territory from Lewis; an attempt which cost him his Italian domains. Carloman suddenly appeared in Lombardy, compelled Boson the imperial governor to retire into France, and assumed the title of King of Italy in addition to that of Bavaria. The Emperor did not long survive this disgrace; and his death has been usually ascribed to poison. He was succeeded in the throne of France by his

Carloman, King of Bavaria.

Lewis III. King of Saxony.

Charles, King of Swabia.

Death of the Emperor Charles II. 877.

[33] Pfeffel, Ann. 876. On this occasion he appointed and *crowned* his brother-in-law Boson, *Duke* of Lombardy; the first instance in history of a crowned duke. Art de vérif. tom. II. p. 4.

eldest son Lewis, surnamed the Stammerer, who survived his coronation only two years.

Lewis II. King of France.

The death of the Emperor Charles disturbed the harmony between the German brothers, and Carloman and Lewis eagerly contended for the imperial crown. But ere the prize could be obtained from the temporizing Pope, death overtook the most favoured aspirant. On the death of Carloman, his natural son Arnolf claimed the crown of Bavaria; but his pretensions were satisfied with the gift of Carinthia; Lewis received the Bavarian crown; and Charles, who was already in Italy, seized without opposition the kingdom of Lombardy, and was crowned Emperor by Pope John VIII. The death of Lewis III. without issue immediately afterwards vested in him the entire dominion of Germany.

Death of Carloman. 880.

Charles III. Emperor. 881.

Death of Lewis III. of Saxony. 882.

In France, Lewis II. had been succeeded by his two eldest sons, Lewis and Carloman. Charles, a posthumous son, offered no obstacle to their peacefully dividing the kingdom; but an opponent of a more dangerous description stept in to share the royal dominions. Boson, Count of Provence, after his expulsion from Lombardy, succeeded in possessing himself of Provence, Dauphiny, the Lyonnois, and Franche Compté, which he dignified by the title of the *Kingdom* of Arles, or Provence;[34] and a council of nobles and bishops assembled at Mantaille in Dauphiny solemnly recognized his title as King.

Lewis III. and Carloman, Kings of France.

Establishment of the kingdom of Provence. 879.

Boson, King. 879-887.

[34] Art de vérifier, tom. II p. 427.—Planta's Helvetic Confederacy, chap. II. vol. I. p. 83. 8vo. 1807.

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Death of Lewis III. King of France. 882. And of Carloman. 884.

The reign of the two feeble Kings of France was of short duration. Lewis III. expired in 882; and two years afterwards his brother followed him to an untimely grave. The crown would now have passed in regular hereditary succession to Charles, the son of Lewis II.; but a child of five years old was little calculated to command the respect of the nobles, or quell the disorders of the nation; and his claims were superseded in favour of Charles, the only other legitimate male descendant of the once numerous family of the Carlovingians. Charles, therefore, whose unwieldy figure had procured him the surname of the Fat, became King, or Regent,[35] of France; and thus, with the exception of the upstart kingdom of Arles, the Empire of Charlemagne was once again revived in the person of his degenerate descendant.

Never was a mighty sceptre entrusted to a more feeble hand than that of Charles the Fat. His imbecility was the more conspicuous, since the distracted state of his dominions called for the utmost energy and vigour. After repeated incursions in France and Germany, the Normans had obtained from the Emperor a cession of lands in Friesland and Lorraine,[36] which rather encouraged

[35] The fact of Charles the Fat having no *number* amongst the Charles's, *Kings* of France, gives countenance to the assertion of Pfeffel, that he was *Regent* only.

[36] Daniel, tom. III. p. 42.—Giannone, Lib. IX. tom. III. p. 327. A particular detail of the Norman incursions will be found in the Mémoire by M. Bonamy, in the 7th vol of the Hist. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, p. 273.

than checked their exactions. In the year 885, they advanced upon Pontoise which they pillaged and burnt, and then proceeded to the attack of Paris. The siege of that city is one of the most remarkable events in the history of the ninth century.

Siege of Paris by the Normans. 885.

When Julian in the fourth century went to reside in Paris, that capital was confined to a small island in the middle of the Seine; "the river," we are informed, "bathed the foot of the walls; and the town was accessible only by two wooden bridges."[37] More than five centuries had rolled away, and the limits of Paris remained unchanged; the island and the bridges were all that belonged to the city; and those borders of the river, now covered with a splendid range of buildings, were nothing but a wilderness of thickets and marshes.[38] When the Normans advanced upon the town, Eudes or Odo, son of Robert the Bold, who had himself fallen in battle against the invaders, was Count or Governor of Paris. For more than a year the city was affrighted by the repeated assaults of the enemy, who covered the Seine with their vessels, and committed in their attempts to gain possession of the town the most horrible acts of cruelty. But the valour of Eudes and the Parisians baffled all their efforts; the blows of their

[37] Gibbon, vol. III. p. 236.

[38] Daniel. ub. sup.—M. Bonamy, in two elaborate dissertations, in the 15th vol. of the Hist. de l' Académie des Inscriptions, endeavours to shew that the city of Paris extended over the borders of the Seine long before the Norman siege.

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battering-rams, the assaults from their wooden towers, were in vain directed against the ramparts; Paris still refused to yield to any means of attack which the art of war could then devise. At length disease appeared within the walls; the air corrupted by the putrid bodies which choaked the river spread a pestilence through the city, and Eudes resolved to call the reluctant Emperor to the succour of the suffering capital. The tardy Charles appeared on Montmartre; but his arrival created no panic amongst the Normans; and dismayed at their unconcern and alarmed at the prospect of a battle he entered into terms, and purchased their retreat by an ignominious compromise. He consented to pay them an enormous sum of money and to assign them extensive territory in Burgundy; and as soon as the peace was completed he retired towards Germany, covered with greater disgrace than if he had been completely defeated.[39]

The Emperor makes a disgraceful treaty. 886.

The news of this miserable treaty was the signal for general defection. The Germans were the first to renounce their allegiance, and unanimously called to the throne Arnolf, the natural son of Carloman, King of Italy. The French immediately followed the example; but their choice of a successor was distracted by the claims of five aspirants, each more or less remotely of kin to Charlemagne. Charles (afterwards surnamed the Simple) was the son of Lewis the Stammerer;[40] Eudes, the brave

Arnolf elected King of Germany.

[39] Daniel, tom. III. p. 52–68.—Sismondi, Hist. des Francais, tom. III. p. 267.

[40] Muratori (Ann. 834) mistakenly calls Charles, the *son*, instead of the brother, of Carloman, King of France.

defender of Paris, traced his lineage from Childebrand, son of Pepin d' Heristal; Lewis, King of Provence, was son of Boson and Hermenegarde,[41] daughter of the Emperor Lewis II.; Berenger, Duke of Friuli, was son of Gisella, the daughter of Lewis I.; and Guido, Duke of Spoleto, was the son of Adelaide, daughter of Pepin, King of Italy. In the midst of these conflicting pretensions, Rodolph, Count of Transjuran Burgundy, a noble of illustrious descent,[42] though not of the blood of Charlemagne, contrived to erect his country into a kingdom: his territory comprised the modern Switzerland as far eastward as the river Reuss, with the Valais, Geneva, and Savoy; and his title being recognized by the bishops of the district, he secured an independent kingdom for himself and his posterity.[43]

Establishment of the kingdom of Burgundy. Rodolph I. King. 887-911.

The crown of France since the days of Clovis had, till the usurpation of Pepin, continued in the royal family, though it had not always descended in strict hereditary succession.[44] The descendants of

[41] Boson died in 887; and Lewis, after being three years under the guardianship of his mother Hermenegarde, was acknowledged King of Provence by the bishops and nobles in 890, being then but ten years of age. Art de vérif. tom. II. p. 428. See Appendix, Tables I. II. and V.

[42] He was of the family of Guelf, and grand-nephew of the Empress Judith, wife of Lewis the Debonaire (Daniel inadvertently writes "of Charles the Bald," tom. III. p. 73), on whose marriage, her brothers Conrad and Rodolph abandoned their paternal seat. Gibbon's Miscel. Works, vol. III. p. 502 8vo. 1814. and see Table IV.

[43] Art de vérif. tom. II. p. 430.—Daniel, tom. III. p. 80.—Planta's Helvetic Confederacy, chap. II. vol. 1. p. 83.

[44] The question of the hereditary succession of the crown of France is elaborately discussed by Vertot (Mem. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom.

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Pepin afterwards uninterruptedly enjoyed it; but a stranger was now to supersede their claims. Eudes, the valiant count and defender of Paris, was called to the throne by a great majority of the nobles, though a considerable party upheld the pretensions of Charles, son of Lewis II.[45] The deposed monarch of Germany and France did not long survive his dethronement: he retained the empty title of Emperor; nor did the Italians acknowledge another sovereign during the life of Charles the Fat. But he was compelled to throw himself on the generosity of the newly-elected king of Germany, and expired at Reichenau, on the Lake of Constance, early in the year 888.[46] Immediately on his death Berenger, Duke of Friuli, asserted his claim to the Italian crown. Guido, Duke of Spoleto, his most formidable rival, had abandoned Italy in prosecution of his pretensions to the throne of France; and Berenger was, without opposition, elected and crowned King of Italy.[47]

Eudes elected King of France. 887.

Death of Charles the Fat. 888.

Berenger I. elected King of Italy.

IV. p. 672), and by Mr. Hallam (Middle Ages. vol. I. p. 152). Both these writers assume that the ancient Germans chose their king *out of one family*.

[45] See Table III.

[46] A suis strangulatus. Herman, Contract. apud Struvium, p. 200. n. 99.

[47] Daniel, tom. III. p. 71.—Art de vérif. tom II. p. 4.—According to Muratori (Ann. 844) the famous Iron Crown was first used at the coronation of Berenger. Its name *Iron* was derived from a small ring of that metal which was inserted in it, made from the *true nails* of the Crucifixion.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE DISMEMBERMENT OF THE EMPIRE UNDER CHARLES THE FAT TO ITS RESTORATION UNDER OTHO I.

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Dismemberment of the Empire. 888.

THE mighty Empire of Charlemagne was now divided into five independent kingdoms. Over France, with its Spanish dependencies,[1] Eudes was the nominal sovereign; whilst Arnolf was the undisputed King of Germany. The ancient Burgundian territories, separated by the lofty ridges of the Jura, were shared by the kings of Provence and Burgundy; and Italy, with the exception of Venice and the Greek possessions, acknowledged Berenger as her King. So great a revolution could scarcely be effected without a multitude of dissensions.

Eudes, King of France.
Arnolf, King of Germany.
Lewis. King of Provence.
Rodolph I. King of Burgundy.
Berenger I. King of Italy.

[1] The French dominions in Spain had been curtailed by the erection of the kingdom of Navarre; which, though at first dependent on the Emperors, gradually assumed independence. What remained between Navarre, the Pyrenees, the Sea, and the Ebro was governed by a Count of Barcelona appointed by the French monarch; and as late as 884 we find in Mariana (Lib. VIII. c. I. p. 294) such an appointment by Charles the Fat. According to Père Daniel (tom. III. p. 267) the counts continued in general faithful to France down to the reign of Hugh Capet. The county of Barcelona was merged in the kingdom of Aragon (which originated in 1035) by the marriage of Raymond-Berenger, Count of Barcelona, with Queen Petronilla: and on Raymond's death in 1162 their son Alfonso II. became Count of Barcelona, and was placed by his mother on the throne of Aragon. Art. de vérif, tom. I. p. 745.

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The question of boundaries might well have induced contention among the new kings: but the kingdoms of France and Italy were themselves too replete with internal convulsion to take part in foreign affairs. The reign of Eudes was disputed by the partisans of Charles III.; and the latter was solemnly crowned King of France at Rheims. An amicable adjustment with Eudes gave rise to a partition of the realm; and Charles was soon afterwards left in possession of the whole by the death of his colleague.[2] Nor was Berenger permitted to retain the hastily won crown of Italy. Guido, Duke of Spoleto, disappointed in his hopes of the throne of France, hurried back into Lombardy; compelled the newly-elected king to seek refuge in Germany; and, together with his son Lambert, received the imperial crown from Pope Formosus.[3]

Charles III. King of France. 897.

Death of Eudes. 898.

Guido and Lambert, Emperors. 891. 892.

In both these contests the assistance of the King of Germany was invoked by the weaker party: and on both occasions Arnolf contrived to convert the struggles of the rivals to his own advantage. He availed himself of the troubles of France to seize upon Lorraine, which he raised into a kingdom in favour of his natural son Zuentibold.[4] He acceded to the call of Berenger to cross the Alps, and invaded Lambert, who had survived his father. But though Berenger was thereby enabled to regain possession of the kingdom, Arnolf himself

Zuentibold, King of Lorraine. 895.

Death of Guido. 894.

Arnolf, Emperor. 896.

[2] Daniel, tom. III. p. 89-101. [3] Murat. Ann.
[4] Art de vérif. tom. III. p. 36.

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claimed and received from the Pope the crown of the empire, of which he was soon afterwards placed in undisputed possession by the death of the Emperor Lambert.[5]

Death of Lambert. 898.

During these royal struggles, Italy was incessantly harassed by the incursions of the Saracens. But a still more frightful horde of pagans now made their appearance in Europe. About the year 899 the Hungarians, those fierce sons of Scythia, who "drank the blood and feasted on the hearts of the slain,"[6] first established themselves in Pannonia; and expelling or destroying the Huns, of the same Tartar origin, spread themselves over that country which has ever since been called after them.[7] In his eagerness to quell the rebellion of Zuentibold, King of Moravia, Arnolf imprudently invited the new inhabitants of Pannonia across the Raab: and although by the assistance of his barbarous allies he reduced the rebels, he entailed a tremendous curse upon the neighbouring nations. During the life of Arnolf, fear or friendship restrained the excesses of the Hungarians; but after his death, which took place in 899, these barbarians surmounted the Alps, and rushed upon Italy in all the violence of desolation. Before they had time, however, to march upon Pavia, the royal residence of Berenger, the King hastily collected the forces of Lombardy, Tuscany, and Spoleto, and was soon

Death of Arnolf. 899.

The Hungarians invade Italy. 900.

[5] Murat. Ann.—Pfeffel. [6] Gibbon, vol. X. p. 210.

[7] Murat. Ann. 889.—Murat. Antiq. Ital. Dissert. I. and XXI.—Denina, Rivol. d' Italia, Lib. IX. c. II. tom. III. p. 20. Milano, 1819.

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at the head of an army thrice as numerous as the invaders. In the first conflict the Hungarians received a signal check, and their offers of submission and retreat were replied to by threats of total extermination. But whilst Berenger enjoyed the triumph of victory, his unwary troops were attacked by the desperate Hungarians; and, as they never gave quarter, few of the Italian troops escaped the carnage of that day. This disaster, which filled Italy with dismay, raised a general indignation against Berenger; and the disaffection of his subjects facilitated the advances of a new competitor for the imperial crown. The late Emperor Arnolf left only one legitimate son Lewis; who though but seven years old was elected to the throne of Germany, whilst Zuentibold, his illegitimate brother, enjoyed the crown of Lorraine. In 900 the subjects of Zuentibold revolted to the King of Germany; and he himself perished in a struggle with the rebels. From the descendants of Arnolf, therefore, Berenger had nothing to fear. But Lewis, King of Provence, supported by Adalbert,[8] Duke of Tuscany, the most powerful noble of Italy, had already marched across the Alps; and ere Berenger recovered the shock of his defeat by the Hungarians, he found himself compelled to withdraw into Germany; whilst Lewis proceeded to Rome, and received the crown of empire from

Lewis IV. King of Germany. 899.

Death of Zuentibold. 900.

Lewis, King of Provence. invades Italy. 901.

Lewis III. crowned Emperor.

[8] For this Marquis or Duke, see Gibbon's "Antiquities of the House of Brunswick," Miscel. Works, vol. III. p. 381. and Table VI.

Pope Benedict IV.[9] On his return to Provence in the following year, Berenger once more gained possession of Italy; and the last attempt of Lewis III. to crush his rival was punished by captivity and the loss of his eyes.[10] The unfortunate Lewis was led back into Provence; where, with the empty title of Emperor, he lingered out a life of darkness until 929. On his death the county of Vienne was all that descended to Charles-Constantine his son; the residue of his territories was usurped by Hugh, son of Theobald, Count of Arles, who had governed the kingdom during the last years of Lewis.[11]

He is defeated and blinded. 905.

Death of Lewis. 929.

The goverment of Berenger was wise and moderate. The Hungarians, who defied the efforts of his arms, were soothed by conciliation and presents; nor does Italy appear to have suffered from their ravages during the rest of his reign. But the Saracens were still busy in the south, and their attacks on the possessions of the Church were the means of obtaining for Berenger the imperial crown which he had hitherto failed to extort from the Pope. In 915 John X. besought his assistance, and promised to reward his exertions with the title of Emperor. Berenger was accordingly crowned in Rome with the most extraordinary splendour and rejoicing; the imperial forces were united with the papal troops: and the Saracens were defeated in a great battle on the banks of the Garigliano, and driven with immense slaughter

Berenger I. crowned Emperor. 915.

[9] Murat. Ann. [10] Ibid. [11] Art. de vérif. tom. II. p. 420.

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from their stronghold, the valiant Pope commanding in person.[12]

The virtues and merits of the Emperor Berenger were insufficeint to protect him from domestic treachery. Guido, Duke of Tuscany, Adalbert, Marquis of Ivrea, and other discontented nobles, united in a conspiracy against him, and proffered the crown of Italy to Rodolph II. King of Burgundy. Rodolph lost no time in crossing the Alps, and was immediately proclaimed King by the conspirators. The Emperor in vain endeavoured to countervail these hostile proceedings; his troops were routed, his person exposed to the most imminent danger, and Verona was soon the only city which maintained fidelity to his cause. In this emergency Berenger unfortunately followed the desperate example of Arnolf, King of Germany, and called in the Hungarians to his assistance. This fatal step only hastened his destruction. The people of Verona were disgusted by this unnatural alliance, and Berenger fell by the daggers of assassins. He deserved a better fate; for his character was exalted by valour, generosity, clemency, and justice. Yet his long and stormy reign was one continued scene of confusion; and Italy had never been more convulsed than during the thirty-seven years he filled the throne. The last act of his life admits of little palliation; the interests of his country were sacrificed to his personal welfare;

Rodolph II. king of Burgundy invades Italy. 921.

He is proclaimed King of Italy.

Murder of Berenger. 924.

[12] According to Platina, at Minturnæ.—Mura^t. Ann. 916.—Giannone, Lib. VII. IV. s. 1.

and dearly did Italy pay for the attempt of her Emperor to support his tottering Empire. No sooner was his death known to the Hungarians than they abandoned themselves to the most horrible excesses. They forced their way into Pavia, the rich and flourishing capital of Lombardy; put the inhabitants to the sword; and left the city a heap of ashes. At length their rapacity was satiated, and loaded with plunder they withdrew from the desolated country.

Pavia burnt by the Hungarians.

The reign of Rodolph was short in Italy. A strong party favoured the claims of Hugh, Count of Provence; and Rodolph finding himself abandoned by his former adherents retired to his paternal dominions. Hugh took possession of the kingdom without opposition; and having associated his son Lothaire in the royal power, proceeded to Rome with a view to obtain the imperial diadem. But the brutality of his bearing disgusted the Romans;[13] he was driven back into Lombardy; and the discarded Rodolph was again invited to resume the Italian throne. Hugh, however, averted the approach of his rival by an amicable adjustment. Rodolph consented for ever to abandon his claims on Italy in consideration of receiving from Hugh the dominions appertaining to Provence; and by this union the second kingdom of Burgundy embraced nearly the same territory as had been occupied by the Burgundians in the begin-

Hugh, King of Italy. 926.

Lothaire associated. 931.

[13] Gibbon, vol. IX. p. 201.—He is, however, mistaken in calling Hugh, *King of Burgundy*.

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ning of the fifth century.[14] But Hugh still continued his course of tyranny and oppression; the Italian nobles resented the preference shewn to the Burgundian favourites; and at length his nephew Berenger, Marquis of Ivrea, appeared in arms against him. Hugh was dethroned in a public assembly at Milan; his son Lothaire was permitted to retain the title of King; and the administration of the kingdom was committed to Berenger. The tyrant survived his dethronement only a few months. Three years afterwards Lothaire followed him to the grave; and Berenger II. was immediately elected, together with his son Adalbert.[15]

Hugh dethroned. 946.

Death of Lothaire. 950.

Berenger II. and Adalbert, Kings of Italy.

Changes in Germany: Lewis IV. 900-911.

Meanwhile important changes had taken place in Germany. Under the reign of the young Lewis IV. son of the Emperor Arnolf, his territories were perpetually overrun by the Hungarians; and the German soldiers in vain endeavoured to cope with their merciless invaders. On the death of Lewis without issue, his nephew, Conrad, Duke of Franconia, was elected King of Germany; but the

Conrad I. 911-919.

[14] "The ancient kingdom of the Burgundians was defined by the course of two Gallic rivers, the Saone and the Rhone, and extended from the forest of Vosges to the Alps and the sea of Marseilles." Gibbon, vol. VI. p. 324.—The new kingdom was called indifferently Arles or Burgundy. It was bounded on the west by the Rhone and Saone, and included little or no part of the *Dutchy* of Burgundy. The *County* of Burgundy (i.e. Franche Comté) was part of the kingdom under Rodolph II., and in more recent times the *Dutchy* has extended itself over the southern part of the County. The first *Duke* of Burgundy was Richard, brother-in-law of Charles the Bald, created about 877.—Art. de vérifier les Dates, tom. II. p. 492.—This identity of name sometimes induced the German princes to lay claim to the *Dutchy* as part of the kingdom of Arles:—but in fact it always belonged to France.

[15] Murat. Ann.

Hungarians were still in arms; and after a reign of only eight years, Conrad received a death-wound in an engagement with this scourge of Europe. To him succeeded Henry, Duke of Saxony, surnamed the Fowler, from his occupation at the moment of his election.[16] But the *Fowler* proved himself in all respects worthy of the royal dignity. He subdued the rebellious Bohemians; repulsed the Danes; and originated the marches of Sleswick and Misnia for the protection of the frontier. He was the first to tame the spirit of the Hungarians. By the force of his arms these terrific warriors were driven back to the Danube; and the march of Austria was established as a guard for that portion of his kingdom. The renown of his prowess gave him back the whole territory of Lorraine, which had been seized by France on the death of Lewis IV.; and after a glorious and useful reign of twenty-seven years, he died in 936.[17]

Henry I. 919-936.

Upon the death of Henry, the nobles assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle; and disregarding the claims of the eldest son Tankmar, unanimously elected Otho, Duke of Saxony, second son of their late sovereign.[18]

Otho I. 936.

The successors of Charlemagne in the western Empire had all been lineally descended from that

[16] Struvius, p. 216. [17] Pfeffel.

[18] On this occasion a struggle arose between the archbishops of Mentz and Cologne for the honour of crowning the new king; but as St. Boniface, Archbishop of Mentz, had crowned Pepin, the claim of his successor was allowed. Pfeffel, p. 22.—The ceremony is minutely described by Schmidt, Book IV. chap. III.

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monarch. Of these, six were in the male line,[19] and four in the female.[20] Nor was Otho unable to trace his descent from the great Charles. He was indeed doubly descended from the founder of the Empire. His grandfather Otho, first hereditary Duke of Saxony, was great-grandson of the Emperor Lewis I.; his grandmother was daughter of the Emperor Arnolf. But Otho needed not this pride of birth to recommend him. Himself the founder of a new empire, the champion of his country against her barbarous invaders, and the zealous promoter of the prosperity of his subjects, he may claim no inconsiderable share of glory; and to boast of descent from Charlemagne is to confess consanguinity with some of the worst and meanest of mankind. Nor is it a little singular that in Otho's veins was united the blood of the conqueror of Saxony with that of the stubborn leader of the rebellious pagans; since we are informed by tradition that his mother was descended from the famous Witikind, who so long vindicated the freedom of his country against the destructive sword of Charlemagne.[21]

From the death of Charlemagne to the election of Otho the annals of the empire are little better than a dry and unprofitable enumeration of names.

[19] Lewis I., Lothaire I., Lewis II., Charles II., Charles III, Arnolf.

[20] Guido., Lambert., Lewis III., Berenger I.

[21] Pfeffel.—Gibbon, vol. IX. p. 190, note 117. I have been chiefly induced to notice the descent of Otho by its having been sweepingly asserted, that prior to his election the race of Charlemagne had become extinct in *both* branches.

The perpetual change of sovereigns and the frequent divisions of territory succeed too rapidly to rivet the attention. The government, which at the voice of the great Emperor had started into order and consistency, was shaken by the violence, or dismembered by the weakness, of his descendants; and the imperial title was sometimes borne by princes destitute of power and dominions. France was for ever torn from the Empire; and though the Emperors were content to receive the crown in Rome, their authority in Italy was but a faint shadow. The purple of the Cæsars was now to be worn by a noble German; and the Romans were to acknowledge an Emperor who was a stranger to their country and manners; and whose momentary presence among them could raise no sympathy between the sovereign and the people. In Germany alone the real power was vested: there from amongst a crowd of rival nobles the representative of Augustus was to be *elected;* and it now becomes necessary to enter more particularly upon the boundaries, divisions, and institutions, of this important nation.

State of Germany.

In the days of Tacitus, Germany was separated from the Gauls, the Rhætians, and the Pannonians by the rivers Rhine and Danube: from the Sarmatians and Dacians by mutual dread or by mountains. Its northern limit was the ocean, which embraced its ample bays and the immense tract of its *islands;* the habitations of kings and the seat of nations whom war had then lately in-

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troduced to the knowledge of the Romans.[22] But in the gradual encroachments of the barbarians upon the decaying Empire those boundaries had been lost in confusion; the stations of the ancient inhabitants had been shifted: and whilst the names of Suevia, Boiaria, and Boiohemum are to be discovered in the modern appellations of Swabia, Bavaria, and Bohemia, a new situation must be assigned to the several races from whom those names were derived. The Saxons, divided into distinct tribes, expanded their limits in the north; the confederate Franks had imparted the name of Franconia; and the barbarous appellation of Allemanni is retained in a modern language to designate the entire nation. By these last named barbarians the southern boundary was overleaped; the people of Germany were spread through the Roman provinces of Noricum and Rhætia; and instead of the Danube, the formidable passes of the Alps became the southern barrier. Under the immediate descendants of Charlemagne the Rhine had been usually respected as the western limit of Germany, or *Eastern* France. But the acquisition of Lorraine under Henry the Fowler carried the boundary of the west to the Scheld and the Meuse, whilst the Reuss divided it from the kingdom of Burgundy. On the north, Tacitus might have recognized *his* boundary, though he would have found the once hostile *island* of Denmark faintly enlightened by Christianity, and professing peace

Its boundaries.

[22] Tacitus, Germania, c. I.

with the Empire. On the east, the Poles, the Hungarians, and the dutchy of Bohemia, set a limit to the imperial territory.[23]

Its Dutchies.

It had been the policy of Charlemagne to abolish the great Dutchies of Germany, which from their vast extent formed a striking contrast to the more minute divisions of western France,[24] and placed the Dukes too nearly on a level with the sovereign himself. But under Arnolf, the dignity and offices of the Dukes began to revive.[25] Their functions as guardians of the frontiers and ministers of justice, which had been divided between Marquisses and Commissaries, were again united; and the Dutchies shone forth with renewed lustre. That of Saxony, now vested in the family of Otho, had been enlarged by the addition of the Dutchy of Thuringia, which expired in the reign of Lewis IV.[26]

1. Saxony.

Bavaria, re-established about 900 in favour of the Marquis Leopold, was inherited by his son Arnold, and afterwards by his grandson, Eberhard.

2. Bavaria.

Franconia, including a portion of territory on the western side of the Rhine extending from Cologne to Mentz, was first established in 903 in favour of Conrad, afterwards King of Germany.[27]

3. Franconia.

The ancient Dutchy of Swabia, extinguished by Pepin but restored in 916, and afterwards enlarged by the union of Alsace, was bestowed by Henry I. on Herman, cousin of the late king Conrad.[28]

4. Swabia.

Lor-

[23] Pfeffel, pp. 112, 175.

[24] Montesq. Esp. des Loix, liv. XXXI. c. 19.

[25] Pfeffel, p. 84.

[26] Pfeffel, pp. 56. 91.

[27] Art de vérif. tom. III. p. 315.

[28] Art de vérif. ub. sup. p. 64.

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5. Lorraine;

raine, so long the object of contention, had been granted by Henry the Fowler to the first Duke Ranier; and on the death of his son and successor Gilbert, the Dutchy devolved to Otho, who subsequently granted it in 953 to his brother Bruno, Archbishop of Cologne. Bruno divided Lorraine into two Dutchies; upper or Mosellane Lorraine, which comprised that portion south of the junction of the Moselle with the Rhine; and Lower Lorraine, including Brabant and the country between the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheld.[29] The former was granted to Frederic, Count of Bar; the latter to Godfrey, a noble; the archbishop himself retaining the sovereign authority with the title of Archduke.[30]

divided into Upper and Lower.

Margraves, Counts, and Barons.

Subordinate to the Dukes were the Margraves, or Guardians of the frontiers; the Counts; and the Barons, or lowest order of nobility. Besides these nobles were the Counts Palatine, whose office gave them a very distinguished rank in the kingdom: stationed in the different provinces they dispensed justice in the name of the sovereign, regulated the internal government of the district, in the absence of the Dukes fulfilled their functions, and administered the imperial revenues in the

Counts Palatine.

[29] To prevent confusion, I shall hereafter designate *Lower* Lorraine by the general title of Brabant.

[30] Art de vérif. tom. III. p. 36. 96.—Daniel, tom. III. pp. 237.—The title of Duke was not confined to the proprietors of the five great Dutchies. It was from time to time assumed by the collateral princes of the royal house; and those Dukes who were deprived of their possessions still transmitted the *title* to their posterity. Pfeffel, p. 169.

several Dutchies.[31] But all these Counts were subsequently eclipsed by the Count Palatine of the Rhine; a dignity founded by Otho, enriched with extensive territories on the Meuse, the Moselle, and on both sides of the Rhine; and rivalling in power and authority the great Dukes of the nation.[32] These dignities, originally granted only for life, had in the tenth century become for the most part hereditary, though the rebellion of the possessors frequently enabled the sovereign to seize upon their forfeited estates. On failure of heirs, the states of the great Dutchies claimed the right of electing their new Duke; a claim in general admitted, though frequently eluded, by the sovereign.[33]

Count Palatine of the Rhine.

Besides these Lay-Dignities, no small share of power and authority was vested in the hands of the higher orders of the Clergy. As the power of the nobles encreased, the Kings of Germany endeavoured to counterbalance their assumptions by setting up another class of Magnates, the sanctity of whose calling gave them a mysterious and boundless influence over an ignorant and superstitious people. The possessions of the Archbishops and Bishops, which they enjoyed in virtue of their Churches, were from time to time enlarged by the royal bounty; and raised them to the rank of secular princes. For the most part nominated by the sovereign,[34] they were in every respect his

Archbishops and Bishops.

[31] Pfeffel, p. 167.—Schmidt, vol. II. p. 121.

[32] Art de vérif. ub sup. p. 318. [33] Pfeffel, p. 167.

[34] Pfeffel (p. 101) mentions two instances of the sovereign's supremacy

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vassals; were bound to do homage for their temporal *Benefices;* were invested by the King with the symbolical Ring and Crozier; and like the other feudatories of the crown were bound to attend him on his warlike expeditions.[35] It was however pretended by the Popes, who never lost an occasion for extending their jurisdiction, that the episcopal election was incomplete until the new Prelate received the Pallium from Rome; and this pretension, by the help of the False Decretals,[36] was reluctantly admitted by the German Clergy. Amongst the Archbishops, the Archbishop of Mentz, as Primate of the kingdom, maintained the first rank; and his dignity was further augmented by Otho, who annexed the office of Arch-Chancellor to that See. Next in rank to him were the Archbishops of Cologne[37] and Treves; and these three Prelates assumed an equality with royalty. When Otho, himself Duke of Saxony, was crowned King

over the Clergy.—In 918 Conrad I. annulled the election of an Archbishop by the Clergy and people of Bremen; and Pope John X. sent the Pallium to the King's nominee. And this same Prince annulled by his royal authority a sentence of excommunication, pronounced by the Bishop of Halberstadt against Henry, Duke of Saxony.

[35] Pfeffel, pp. 55. 92. 113. 134.

[36] The Decretal Epistles of Isidore, Bishop of Seville (commonly called the "False Decretals"), which purported to be a collection of ancient decrees establishing the supremacy of the See of Rome, were the production of the ninth century. Mosheim, by Maclaine, vol. II. p. 305.—The resistance of the French Bishops to this imposture forms for them a very advantageous contrast to the Prelates of Germany, who seem implicitly to have adopted the Decretals. Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 95.

[37] The Office of Chancellor of Italy was, early in the eleventh century, annexed to the Archbishopric of Cologne. Pfeffel, p. 155.

of Germany by the Archbishop of Mentz, he dined in public with these three ecclesiastical Potentates, whilst the four Dukes of the realm officiated at the table: Gilbert, Duke of Lorraine, as Grand-Chamberlain; Arnold, Duke of Bavaria, as Grand-Marshal; Eberhard, Duke of Franconia, as Grand-Seneschal; and Herman, Duke of Swabia, as Cup-bearer.[38]

Election of King.

The choice of their sovereign, afterwards vested in a limited number of electors, appears in the tenth century to have depended upon the general voice of the nobles, together with the Chiefs of the army. The new sovereign became invested with crown-lands sufficient for the maintenance of the royal state; and we may judge of this sufficiency, by the fact of Otho bestowing his paternal Dutchy of Saxony on Herman Billing soon after he ascended the throne.

Cities, Imperial and Provincial.

Cities now began to multiply in Germany, and were distinguished into imperial and provincial; the former appertaining to the domain of the sovereign, the latter situated in the territories of the nobles. The incursions of the Hungarians had in this respect worked good out of evil; the settlement of families within walled towns was found the best protection against the barbarians; and Henry I. amongst his remedies for their aggressions diligently exerted himself in the erection of these newly-raised fortifications. A portion of the rural nobility were placed within the walls; the lower

[38] Pfeffel, p. 116.

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classes of the people were employed as artizans; and in order to overcome the repugnance of the Germans to enclose themselves within ramparts, extraordinary privileges were granted to these new citizens.[39]

Conquests of Otho.

The first years of the reign of Otho were passed in securing to himself the German throne. His eldest brother Tankmar was killed in the act of rebellion; his second brother Henry was compelled to throw himself upon the clemency of his King against whom he had taken up arms.[40] The insurgent Dukes of Lorraine and Franconia were slain in the war which they had kindled; and many nobles suffered for their revolt by disgrace[41] and confiscation. By an expedition into France, Otho secured the territory of Lorraine; and having concluded a peace with Louis IV. assisted that prince in negociating terms with his turbulent vassal, Hugh, Duke of France.[42] He punished the presumption of Harold, King of Denmark, who had overleaped the march of Sleswick; compelling him

[39] Pfeffel, pp. 110. 141. 171. The mere fact of a place being protected by walls seems to have magnified it, however inconsiderable in other respects, into a city (Stadt). If a city were fortified by strong walls and towers, it was called a Roman Fortress (Bevestigung nach römischer Art) from its resemblance to the works of the Romans on the Rhine and a few other spots. Schmidt, vol. II. p. 151. Book IV. c. 11.

[40] He was afterwards in 946 invested with the Dutchy of Bavaria.

[41] A singular mode of disgrace, called *Harnescar*, was in use at this period; the offender was compelled to carry a weight upon his shoulders for a certain distance,—sometimes two leagues; if he were one of the higher nobility, he carried a dog; if of the lower, a saddle; if an ecclesiastic, a large missal; if a citizen, a plough. Pfeffel, p. 116.

[42] Daniel, tom. III. p. 220.

to embrace and encourage the Christian religion, and to bind himself to an annual tribute to the King of Germany. Against the rebel Duke of Bohemia, Otho was no less successful; Boleslaus, the murderer of his brother Winceslaus, was reduced to extremity; and having agreed to restore Christianity and pay a yearly tribute, the usurper was permitted to do homage for his ill-acquired Dutchy.[43] These successes laid the foundation of the greatness of Otho: his ambition sought occasion to shew his promptness and resolution; and his fortune enabled him to strike terror into his enemies, and convince his German vassals that he was able, as well as determined, to curb their insubordination.

The state of Italy also favoured any views he might entertain with regard to that kingdom. During the reign and by the assistance of Otho, Berenger II. had mounted the Italian throne. But in the very commencement of his career, that prince shewed himself unworthy to govern; and the patronage of the German King was converted into open hostility. Berenger, who was not slightly suspected of having poisoned his predecessor Lothaire, determined to unite the widowed Adelaide to his son and associate Adalbert. But the Queen, who was not more remarkable for her beauty than for her virtues and discretion, indignantly rejected

[43] Pfeffel, p. 118-124.—The first Christian Duke of Bohemia was Borzivoi, or Borziwof, who was baptised in 894. Wenceslaus and Boleslaus were his grandsons. Art. de vérif. tom. III. p. 446.

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the usurper's offers; and his wrath subjected her to captivity, from which she found means to escape into the estates of Albert-Azzo, Lord of Canossa. The wrongs of Adelaide and the cries of the Italians were not lost upon Otho. To his ambitious spirit Italy opened an extensive field of glory; and he at once made himself master of that country, and husband of the incomparable Adelaide. The tyrant Berenger was reduced to humble himself before the invader, and received back his kingdom as the vassal of the King of Germany. He was allowed to retain the royal title until 961, when the clamours of his subjects and the exhortations of Pope John XII. again drew Otho into Italy. The reign of Berenger was now ended. Though for some time he secured himself in the fortress of St. Leo, he was finally seized and made prisoner; and sent, together with his wife Willa, to a dungeon at Bamberg. Adalbert, effecting his escape from Italy, sought refuge among the Greeks.[44]

Berenger and Adalbert deposed. 962.

Otho I. Emperor. 962.

Whilst Berenger remained besieged in the fort of St. Leo, Otho, invited by the Pope and the nobles of Italy, proceeded to Rome; and in St. Peter's received, with his consort Adelaide, the crown of the western Empire.[45] In him, then, the kingdoms of Germany and Italy were once again

Union of Germany and Italy.

[44] Berenger died in 966.—Adalbert left one son, Otho-William; and the widow afterwards marrying Henry, Duke of Burgundy, obtained for this son, his step-father's dutchy. From this he was expelled by Robert, King of France. Pfeffel, p. 129.—Mur. Ann.—Daniel, tom. III. p. 309.—Art. de vérif. tom. II. p. 496.

[45] Struvius, p. 246.—Murat. Ann.—Sismondi, Hist. des Répub. Italiennes, chap. I. p. 53.

united; and the imperial title henceforth indicates the sovereign of those two countries. But the successors of Otho had too often reason to regret the union; and in his transalpine court the *Roman* Emperor was denied the tranquillity which might otherwise have been permitted to the King of Germany.

Hitherto we have beheld the Emperor and Pope in apparent amity, each affecting to respect the other's authority. The immediate successors of Charlemagne, after his example, condescended to receive the imperial title and diadem from the Bishop of Rome; and the spiritual character of the Pontiff secured him no ordinary measure of respect and veneration. But we are now entering upon a scene of collision and conflict. We are first to see the Popes raised and depressed at the mandate of the German Monarch; and soon afterwards to behold the representatives of Augustus thwarted, deposed, and trampled on by the alledged successors of St. Peter. The rise and growth of the papal power becomes, therefore, too important to be neglected; and I shall here briefly trace the progress of the Roman Bishops from the miseries of poverty and persecution towards the highest elevation attainable by human ambition.

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CHAPTER IV.

RISE AND GROWTH OF THE PAPAL POWER.

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THAT the martyrdom of St. Peter took place in Rome appears sufficiently established; that he was ever *Bishop* of the Romish See may be reasonably doubted.[1] But the Legends of Papal Rome place the Apostle at the head of the Popes;[2] and claim for her Church a foundation upon "the Rock," by the emphatic words of his divine master.[3] In the early ages of Christianity the capital of the world offered little security to the pastor and his flock; and a faithful discharge of the episcopal office sometimes incurred a painful and ignominious

[1] Lardner's Supplement, c. XVIII. Works, vol. VII. p. 549. 8vo. 1788.—Marsh's Michaelis, vol. IV. c. XVI. sect. 2. p. 91. Milner's Hist. of the Church, vol. I. p. 81.—The authorities on both sides are collected in Horne's "Introduction to the Scriptures," vol. IV. p. 418. note. The better authorities make Linus first Bishop of Rome, the same (it is said) mentioned by St. Paul in his second Epistle to Timothy, c. IV. v. 21. Bower's Lives of the Popes, vol. I. p. 10.

[2] Alban Butler's Lives of the Saints;—and thus Tasso;

> Chiamano e te, che sei pietra e sostegno
> Della magion di Dio fondata e forte;
> Ove ora il novo successor tuo degno
> Di grazia e di perdono apre le porte.
> Ger. Lib. cant. XI. st. 8.

[3] Matthew, c. XVI. v. 18.

death.[4] From an ancient date the ecclesiastical state consisted of the three orders of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; the Bishop nominated by the united voice of the assembled clergy and people;—the Priests and Deacons ordained by the Bishop.[5] The *civil* division of Italy into two vicariates, that of Milan in the north, and Rome in the south, was imitated in its ecclesiastical partition; and the Bishops of Rome and Milan assumed a metropolitan superiority over the suffragan Bishops of the inferior cities.[6] The imposing names of Rome and St. Peter afforded a claim of supremacy for the POPE, or Father, of the Roman Christians;[7] and the conversion of Constantine, who enriched the city with at least three apostolic Basilicas,[8] added splendour to the See and dignity to its Bishop. The extinction of the western Empire caused no immediate revolution in the affairs of the Church; the Pope still owed his election to the clergy and people; and though, upon the death of Simplicius, King Odoacer claimed a voice in the new election, he readily acquiesced in the disallowance of his claim, and Felix III. was chosen in the accustomed manner.[9] Nor did Theodoric, though an Arian, 483.

[4] Platina makes twenty-four martyrs out of the thirty-two first Popes. Bower reduces the number to five; viz.—Telesphorus (A. D. 139); Calixtus (222); Anterus (236); Fabianus (250); and Lucius (253).

[5] Giannone, Lib. I. c. XI. s. 1. s. 7.

[6] Giannone, Lib. II. c. VIII.

[7] Giannone, Lib. III. c. VI. s. 1. Thus he acquired, κατ' εξοχην, the title of *The* Pope; for the appellation derived from the Syriac was common to all Bishops, and even inferior ecclesiastics.

[8] Guicciardini, Lib. IV. [9] Mur. Ann. 483.

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display any disposition to interfere with the Catholic Church, until the tumults which attended the rival claims of Symmachus and Lorenzo, on the death of Pope Anastatius II., called upon the King's authority for the preservation of civil order. Theodoric determined in favour of Symmachus;[10]

503. but he remained an unconcerned spectator of the succeeding elections of Hormisdas and John I.;

514. 523. and as the King of Italy continued the royal residence in Ravenna, the Pope maintained, without molestation, his spiritual authority in Rome.[11]

But the persecution of the Arians by the eastern Emperor at length provoked Theodoric to retaliate upon the Catholics. He summoned Pope John to Ravenna, and despatched him to Constantinople on the ungrateful errand of admonishing Justin on his conduct towards his heretic subjects. After an honourable reception in the east, John returned to Ravenna: but the King, exasperated at the ill-success or disobedience of the Pontiff, caused him to be seized, together with the Roman Senators who had accompanied the Embassy; and he was

526. left to perish in a miserable dungeon. Theodoric survived this deed of violence but a few weeks; the last act of his life was the dictation of a Pope to the Romans, under the milder term of a *Recommendation;* nor did his death, which followed im-

[10] Mur. Ann. 503.—Gian. Lib. III. c. VI. s. 3.

[11] Mur. Ann. 523.—Gian. Lib. I. c. XI.—The latter takes occasion to sneer at the *English absurdity* (errore contro al senso comune) of making a Layman the head of the Church; which (he remarks) becomes intolerable when the the throne is filled by a Queen.

mediately, tempt the clergy and people to disobey.[12] Athalaric, his successor, confirmed the election of their Bishops to the clergy and people; but he took care to reserve to himself the right of annulling or affirming their choice.[13] 532.

When Rome had been wrested by Belisarius from the hands of the Goths, the Emperor of the East assumed the right of nominating the Roman Bishop; and the successors of St. Peter relapsed into their former insignificance. They acknowledged the invalidity of their election until ratified by the Emperor or his Exarch, and received in return the imperial fiat which recognized their supremacy over the Patriarchs of the East.[14] About this period the name of Gregory the Great shines forth with considerable splendour; and as if to rebuke the lofty title of the Patriarch of Constantinople, he assumed the humble appellation of "Servant of the servants of God." Gregory I. 590-604.

The tragical fate of Martin affords a striking proof of the dependence of the Popes upon the Emperors. That zealous Pontiff, shocked at the heretical opinions of Constans, had neglected to obtain the imperial confirmation, and even dared to stigmatize the creed of the Emperor. Constans denounced him as an intruder, and commanded the Romans to select a new Bishop. Martin was Martin I. 649-654.

[12] Mur. Ann. 526. and Gibbon, vol. VII. p. 38.

[13] Gian. Lib. III. c. VII. s. 1.

[14] The five Patriarchs of the Church were those of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. Gibbon, vol. XII. p. 107.

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hurried to Constantinople, where he was publicly stripped of his Pontifical trappings; and dragged, with a heavy collar of iron round his neck, to a loathsome prison. His confinement was at length exchanged for exile to Tauric Chersonesus, where he soon afterwards ended his days; and his exemplary life and unmerited sufferings were rewarded with the crown of martyrdom.

For more than fifty years the Emperors continued to impose their creatures on the Romans,[15] until Gregory II. revived the authority of Rome, and laid the foundations of the Pontifical dominion. The attempt of Leo the Isaurian to suppress the worship of images drew down the remonstrance, the reproof, and at length the defiance, of the Pope;[16] and his successor Gregory III. intimated to Leo his election and consecration by his strong injunctions against the persecution of images. The favourable regards of the Lombard Kings encouraged this bold spirit;[17] but when those sovereigns began to exhibit hostile intentions towards the immortal city, and the army of King Astolphus appeared in the Roman territory, the terrified people for the last time called upon the Emperor to deliver them in the hour of danger. The Emperor was however deaf to their cries; and they had now no other head to look to than their spiritual father. Nor was their confidence misplaced. By a hazardous journey to Paris Pope Stephen II. secured the alliance of Pepin, who overthrew As-

Gregory II. 715-731.

Gregory III. 731-741.

Stephen II. 752-757.

[15] Mur. Ann. 705. [16] Mur. Ann. 728. [17] Giannone, Lib. V. s. 2. 4.

tolphus, and consigned the territory ceded by the Lombard to the Vicar of St. Peter.[18] From this period may be dated the final separation of the Roman Pontiff and people from the Greek Emperors of the East, and the conversion of the head of the western church into a temporal sovereign.

As long as the Carlovingian Emperors continued to reign, the Roman Pontiff enjoyed their friendship and protection. But in the troubles which overwhelmed Italy, after the dismemberment of the Empire, two furious factions prevailed in Rome; and the Popes were deposed or created by the ascendant nobles or their concubines. In the ninth century, Theodora, a woman of high birth, captivating beauty, and extensive wealth, possessed unbounded influence; and these seductive qualities were inherited by her two daughters, Marozia and Theodora. At this time the most infamous scenes disgraced the metropolitan See of the western world. After the death of Formosus in 896, he was succeeded by his mortal enemy Stephen VI.,[19] who vented his hostility by disinterring the dead body of his predecessor. The memory of Formosus was insulted by the mockery of a trial, a sentence, and an execution; and the mutilated corpse was ignominiously cast into the Tiber. After a reign of little more than

Scandals in the Church.

Influence of the two Theodoras and Marozia.

Formosus. 891-896.

Stephen VI. 896-897.

[18] Ante, chap. I. p. 6.

[19] Between Formosus and Stephen intervened Boniface VI.; but the irregularity of his election and his brief reign of fifteen days have induced Baronius and others to exclude him from the list of Popes. Art de vérif. tom. I. p. 268.—The next Boniface, who styled himself the seventh, is also excluded. —Boniface, canonically elected in 1294, is, however, numbered as the eighth.

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a year Stephen was strangled in a dungeon, and his acts were in turn annulled by his successor Romanus.[20] The next Pope, Theodore II., caused the body of Formosus to be fished up from the Tiber, and the unfortunate corpse was a second time honourably interred. Another scandal occurred at the end of his brief reign. The newly elected Pope Sergius III. was immediately driven from Rome, and John IX. placed in the chair of St. Peter. To John succeeded Benedict IV.; to Benedict, Leo V., who after reigning a month was dethroned by Christopher, his successor, and left to expire in a prison. Christopher was himself consigned to a dungeon, and the fugitive Sergius was again called to assume the Popedom. In all these disgraceful proceedings Theodora and her daughters more or less participated. The power of Marozia was strengthened by her marriage with Alberic, Marquis of Camerino; and the possession of the strong Mole of Hadrian enabled the wanton mother and sisters to domineer in Rome. After the death of her first husband, by whom she had a son also named Alberic, Marozia gave her hand to Guido, Duke of Tuscany. Meanwhile her sister the younger Theodora[21] had yielded to her violent passion for John, a Roman Deacon of great personal beauty; and after the short reigns of Anastatius and Lando, the handsome John X. was no-

Romanus. 897-898.

Theodore II. 898.

John IX. 898-900.

Benedict IV. 900-903.

Leo V. 903.

Christopher. 903-904.

Sergius III. 904-911.

Anastatius III. 911-913.

Lando. 913-914.

[20] Platina, who justly calls these Popes "Pontificuli." Edit. 1551.

[21] According to Dupin (vol. VIII. c. 2.), and Mosheim (vol. II. p. 402), John was the lover of the *elder* Theodora.

minated Pope by the influence of his mistress. We have already seen him at the head of the Christian army driving the Saracens from the Garigliano; nor was his reign subject to any other reproach than attached to the manner of his acquiring the Popedom. But as he owed his elevation to Theodora, so he met his ruin from her sister and Duke Guido, whose increasing power in Rome had excited the displeasure of John. The Pope was, however, unable to cope with his powerful enemies; he was surprized in the Lateran by Guido; and thrown into prison, where he died soon after. Guido did not long survive this violent outrage; and Marozia for the third time entered into the holy state of matrimony with Hugh, King of Italy, the half-brother of her late husband.

John X. 914-928.

After the reigns of Leo VI. and Stephen VII. the papal chair was filled by John XI., who has been generally set down as the son of Marozia by Pope Sergius III., though more charitable writers are contented to treat him as a legitimate son by her first husband.[22] Under his Pontificate, the government of Rome sustained a complete revolution. Indignant at a blow from Hugh, the new husband of Marozia, Alberic, her son by the first marriage, roused his countrymen to insurrection. Hugh and his Burgundians were expelled the city. Marozia was immured in a cloister; and Pope John was deprived by his brother of all temporal power. For twenty years Alberic governed Rome with the

Leo VI. 928-929. Stephen VII. 929-931. John XI. 931-936.

Alberic Prince of Rome. 932-952.

[22] Murat. Ann. 931; è contrà, Baronius, Dupin, Pignotti, and others.

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title of Prince; and at his death left the sovereignty as an inheritance to his son Octavian. Octavian resolved to unite the spiritual to the temporal authority. On the death of Agapet II. he placed himself, though but nineteen years old, in the chair of St. Peter, by the assumed name of John XII.;[23] and to this Pope may be ascribed the origin of the Pontiffs changing their names on acquiring the Popedom.[24] From his hands Otho of Saxony received the imperial crown in Rome.

John XII. Prince and Pope. 956-964.

[23] Sismondi, tom. I. p. 146.—Gibbon, vol. IX. p. 201.

[24] Mosheim, vol. II. p. 403.—Machiavelli in his outline of the History of Italy (Istor. Fior. Lib. I.) attributes the change of name to Sergius, whose baptismal appellation, *Osporco*, made it matter of taste. Into this error he was probably led by Platina, who assigns this unseemly name to Sergius II.; whereas its real owner was Sergius IV. elected in 1009.—Voltaire (Empire) with his usual accuracy calls John XII. *Octavien Sporco*.—Alban Butler, in his lives of the Saints (vol. VI. June 29th), ascribes the change to Sergius II.; and informs us that the Popes since his time have altered their names, *because* our Saviour called St. Peter by the Greek word for a Rock, instead of the Syro-Chaldaic, Cephas.

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EMPERORS OF THE HOUSE OF SAXONY.

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Otho I. 962-973.

AMONGST the first acts of Otho after his imperial coronation was the payment of his debt of gratitude. On Albert-Azzo, Lord of Canossa, who had afforded an asylum to the Empress Adelaide, he bestowed the *County* of Reggio and Modena; and he created the Marquis Oberto, who had mainly promoted his invasion of Italy, Count of the Sacred Palace; a dignity which placed him above the rank of the Dukes and Marquisses.[1] The Christmas was passed at Pavia, the ancient capital of Lombardy; where the Emperor caused his son Otho, already elected King of Germany, to be chosen King of Italy.[2]

But Otho I. soon perceived that whilst John XII. was permitted to enjoy the Popedom the good work of reformation could be but little advanced; and John too late discovered that, in creating Otho

[1] Both these nobles are more remarkable for their descendants than for their own exploits.—Albert-Azzo, or Adalbert, was the ancestor of the Countess Matilda, so renowned in the next century; and Oberto, or Otbert, is usually accounted the immediate progenitor of the illustrious House of Este.—Gibbon's Miscellaneous Works, vol. III. p. 393.

[2] Murat. Ann. 962.

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Emperor, he had given himself a master less favourable to his excesses than the deposed Berenger. When the scandals and impurities of the Papal Court were first represented to Otho, he was induced to hope that the vices of John might be corrected with his advance in years; and that the unlicensed passions of the *Boy* (such was the imperial appellation for the head of the Church) would subside with his increasing age. But though, in this soothing hope, he listened with indifference to the debaucheries of the Lateran, he was aroused by a rumour which more immediately concerned himself. The deposed son of Berenger had landed at Civita Vecchia, and had been joyfully received by the Pope in Rome. Thither, therefore, the Emperor hastened, and in a solemn council the crimes of John were investigated. Homicide, Perjury, Sacrilege, and Incest, were all included in the accusation; and the assembly heard with horrour that the Pope in his orgies had drunk the health of the Devil, and in his gaming invoked the aid of Jupiter, of Venus, and of other diabolical powers. The summons to answer these charges was replied to by John with threats of excommunication; his deprivation was therefore pronounced, and Leo VIII. was elected in his place. At the same time the Romans bound themselves by oath never in future to consecrate a Pope until the election had received the approval of the Emperor.[3]

John XII. deposed. 963.

Leo VIII. 963-965.

[3] Murat. Ann.—Schmidt, Book IV. c. 3.—Sismondi, Répub. Ital. tom. I. p. 152.

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But Otho had scarcely departed from Rome ere John re-appeared in the city, drove out the new Pope Leo, and cruelly mutilated the Cardinals his adherents. Whilst he was preparing to defend himself from the wrath of the Emperor, death opportunely cut short his infamous career. This seasonable occurrence has been ascribed by Liutprand to the direct intervention of the Devil; whilst others, with more probability, attribute it to an indignant husband, who discovered his wife in the embraces of the amorous Pontiff. The Romans, however, now refused to recognize the Pope whom the influence of Otho had set up, and elected Benedict V. The Emperor once more appeared before the gates of Rome, and at length effected his entrance into the city. Benedict was compelled to relinquish the Pontifical ensigns, and Leo VIII. again presided over the Church. Otho withdrew into Germany, carrying with him the intruder Benedict, who died soon after; and on the death of Leo in the following year, the Romans, with the imperial sanction, elected John XIII.[4]

Death of John XII. 964.

Election and deposition of Benedict V.

John XIII. 965-972.

From the days of Stephen II. till the revolt of Alberic, the Romans had been content to regard the Pope as their temporal, as well as spiritual, ruler. But the enormous vices of the Pontiffs in the twelfth century, so disgraceful to the sacred

[4] Murat. Ann.—Sismondi, ub. sup.—Leo. VIII. is by most writers excluded from the list of regular Popes, and Benedict treated as the immediate successor of John XII. Yet the next Leo elected in 1049 called himself the ninth.

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chair, had alienated the minds of the citizens, who now beheld themselves subjected to the will of a foreign sovereign, and compelled to listen to his dictates supported by an irresistible army. Dreams of the glories of ancient Rome heated their imaginations; and the Republic with its Consuls, Tribunes, and Prefects, was indistinctly displayed to their fancy in the bright colours of liberty and independence. No longer restrained by the presence of Otho and his German warriors, the citizens seized upon John XIII., whom they sent into exile in Campania; and the Prefect of Rome commanded in the city. Otho was not slow to resent the injuries of the Pope. On intelligence of his approach the terrified Romans recalled John from exile and restored him to the Pontificate. But the Emperor resolved to strike terrour by a rigorous example; and the stern justice with which he enforced the laws of Theodosius and Justinian incurred the imputation of cruelty. The body of the Prefect, who had died soon after the seizure and exile of the Pope, was dug up from the grave and hacked to pieces. The new Prefect was set naked upon an ass and led through the city; and after being scourged, was committed to a dungeon. The *Consuls* were sent into exile; the *Tribunes* were hanged; and the other chief actors in the revolt either perished on the scaffold, or were banished beyond the mountains.[5]

Revolt of the Romans. 965.

Vengeance of Otho. 967.

[5] Murat. Ann. 967.—Gibbon (vol. IX. p. 202,) has strangely confounded this transaction with the deposition of John XII.

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Having thus wreaked his vengeance on the dead and the living, Otho summoned his son to Rome; and the imperial crown was placed by the Pope on the head of the second Otho. A marriage had been already agreed upon between the young Prince and Theophania, daughter of Romanus II. the late eastern Emperor; and after the failure of an embassy to claim the Princess, a more formal mission, headed by Liutprand, Bishop of Cremona, was despatched to Constantinople. But with the growing greatness of Otho, the jealousy of Nicephorus Phocas, the successor of Romanus, had been kindled; and he refused to complete the union which had been originally proposed by himself. Liutprand returned without the Princess; and the wrath of Otho was exasperated by learning that the fugitive sons of Berenger were welcome guests at the Grecian court. The hostility of the eastern Emperor exposed his Italian subjects to the miseries of war and invasion; the Greek provinces in the south were overrun by the Germans; and the dissension between the two Empires was only put an end to by the death of Nicephorus. His successor John Zimisces was more pacifically inclined; a treaty was concluded by which the Dutchies of Capua and Benevento were ceded to Otho, who was recognized as the Roman Emperor; and the marriage of the younger Otho with the daughter of Romanus was soon afterwards solemnized at Rome.[6]

Coronation of Otho II. 967.

War with the Greek Empire. 968.

Peace. 972.

[6] Mur. Ann.—Pfeffel, p. 132.—Denina, Lib. IX. c. 7.

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In the struggles of Otho with the Romans, he succeeded in establishing the maxim, which since the days of Charlemagne had been continually admitted and as frequently violated, that the election of the Pope by the Roman clergy and people should be deemed incomplete until the assent of the Emperor had been obtained; and that without that assent the consecration of the new Pontiff should be considered irregular. Another important maxim was also established by Otho;—that whoever obtained the crown of Germany should be thereby invested with the kingdom of Italy and the sovereignty of the city of Rome, though the new monarch was forbidden to assume the title of Emperor, until he had received the imperial crown from the hands of the Pope.[7] In compliance with the first of these maxims, the Holy See, on the death of John XIII., remained vacant for three months, until the confirmation of the Emperor, who had returned into Germany, authorized the consecration of Benedict VI.[8]

Benedict VI. 972-974.

After a glorious reign of nearly thirty-seven years, during eleven of which he enjoyed the title of Emperor, Otho the Great expired in Thuringia, and was interred in the cathedral of Magdeburg. The restoration of the Empire, the annexation of Italy to Germany, and his successful campaigns against the Danes, the Bohemians, and the Greeks, might have been sufficient foundation for his claim

Death of Otho the Great. 7th May, 973.

[7] Pfeffel, pp. 129. 259. 324.—Gibbon, vol. IX. p. 191. [8] Murat. Ann.

to the title of the "Great." But the qualities of bravery, piety, and justice are all conspicuous in the character of this monarch; and the moderation with which he made use of his conquests endeared his memory to mankind. Some faint praise has been offered to Otho for his protection of Literature and the Arts, though his warmest admirers admit his inability to read. But he listened to the discourses of his more erudite brother the Archbishop Bruno, and even made some advances in the Latin tongue.[9]

Otho II. 973-983.

Otho II. was now left in sole possession of the Empire, at the age of eighteen years. For a time he permitted his mother, the Empress Adelaide, to hold the reins of government; but dissension soon arose between them, and Adelaide withdrew to the court of her brother, Conrad, King of Burgundy.[10] Amidst the disturbances produced by this imperial quarrel, Henry II. Duke of Bavaria[11] asserted his claim to the kingdom, and caused himself to be crowned at Ratisbon. But the activity of Otho quickly defeated his upstart kinsman, and Henry was stripped of his dutchy. The Duke of Bohemia, who had favoured this rebellion, was also reduced to submission; and the Danes, who availed themselves of the internal confusion of Germany

Coronation and defeat of Henry, Duke of Bavaria. 976.

[9] Pfeffel, page, 135.—Struvius (p. 233,) is very anxious to exempt Otho from the charge of wasting his time in sleep: he calls him "dormiendi parcus, et inter dormiendum *semper aliquid luquens*!"

[10] Struvius, p. 255.

[11] He was the son of Henry, the rebellious brother of Otho I.

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to invade the march of Sleswic, were driven back behind their ancient intrenchments.[12]

War with Lothaire, King of France. 977.

Otho was soon afterwards engaged in a war with Lothaire, King of France. On the death of Godfrey II. Duke of Brabant, the Emperor granted that Dutchy to Charles, the brother of Lothaire. But the King, either indignant at beholding his brother a vassal of Germany, or anxious to recover for himself that ancient territory of France, resented the gift as an insult; and carried his ravages into both Lorraines. Otho was surprized by the French at Aix-la-Chapelle, and escaped with great difficulty. In his turn he invaded France with a vast army, and pursued Lothaire to the very gates of Paris; but was driven back by the French commanded by Hugh Capet, and defeated in a great battle near Soissons. At length this fruitless struggle was terminated by a treaty between the rival monarchs. Lothaire was content to forego the *possession* of Lorraine, and Otho was permitted to hold it as a *Benefice* of France.[13]

Peace. 980.

Scandals in Rome. 974.

Meanwhile the scandals which had disgraced the city of Rome under the late Emperor continued during the reign of his son and successor, whose warlike occupations in the north detained him from visiting the capital of the Empire. Amongst those who had been conspicuous in the late disorders was Cencio, or Crescentius, son of the notorious Theodora; and the death of Otho the Great was the

[12] Pleffel, p. 137. [13] Père Daniel, tom. III.—Art de vérif. tom. I. p. 565.

signal for new excesses under the name of liberty. The annals of the time are but darkly narrated: yet we may collect that, under the auspices of Crescentius, the Cardinal-Deacon Boniface seized and put to death Pope Benedict VI.; and he himself usurped the Holy Chair, from which, however, he was immediately hurled. The insignificance of his successor has even raised a doubt on his existence; and if Dono II. really reigned, he immediately made way for Benedict VII. the nephew or grand-son[14] of Alberic, Prince of Rome; whose family, now proprietors of the County of Tusculum, had become adherents to the imperial cause.[15]

Boniface VII. 974.

Dono II. 974-975.

Benedict VII. 975-983.

The termination of the war of Lorraine permitted Otho II. to visit Italy, and he arrived at Rome early in the year 981. We may reject, with the cautious Muratori, the story of the bloody banquet, where under the mask of hospitality the Emperor is accused of entrapping the most disorderly of the Romans into his power; and by reason of butchering his defenceless guests, he is said to have acquired the surname of the "Red."[16] But though charity may be deaf to this tale of treachery and murder, justice must stigmatize the invasion of the Greek provinces in the south of

Otho II. in Rome. 981.

[14] The doubt arises from the equivocal word *Nepos*.

[15] Sismondi, tom. I. p. 158.

[16] This story (which according to Struvius rests on the sole authority of Godfrey of Viterbo) is rejected by Muratori, and omitted by Denina, Pfeffel, and Schmidt. It is however repeated by Giannone; by the authors of L'Art de vérifier les Dates; by Heiss, Hist. de l'Empire, liv. II. c. 4.; and by Voltaire, Essai sur les Mœurs, ch. 37.

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Italy, and the attempt to seize on Calabria under the flimsy pretext of the rights of his Grecian consort. The weakness of the Greeks compelled them to call in the aid of the Saracens; and by their assistance they were enabled to give battle to Otho near Tarentum. The forces of the western Emperor were entirely cut to pieces; many of his principal officers were left dead on the field; and he himself with great difficulty escaped falling into the hands of the Infidels.[17] This important victory seemed to revive the slumbering energies of the Greeks; their conquests were extended in Italy; Bari was erected into the metropolis; and the whole Grecian possessions were subjected to a governor, designated the Catapan.[18] But a new and unknown people were soon to overthrow the Greek dynasty in Italy. About thirty years after the defeat of Otho, the Normans made their appearance in Apulia; and having gained a firm footing by their establishment in Aversa gradually stripped the Greeks of their Italian territory.

The Emperor defeated by the Greeks and Saracens. 982.

Otho did not long survive his disgrace in Calabria; he retired to Rome breathing vengeance against the Greeks and their allies; and the Republics of Venice, Naples, Amalfi, and Gaieta were all included in his schemes of revenge. A

[17] Murat. Ann.—Denina, Lib. IX. c. 8.—Giannone, Lib. VIII. c. 2. s. 2.—Pignotti, Storia della Toscana, Lib. II. c. 3. Amongst the slain, we read the names of Henry, Bishop of Augsburg; Werner, Abbot of Fulda; Landolf, Prince of Benevento and Capua; and his brother Atenulf, Marquis [of Camerino].

[18] Sismondi, tom. I. p. 250.—Gibbon, vol. X. p. 250 n. 7.

general assembly of the States was convened at Verona, in which the Emperor's son Otho was elected as the successor of his father: measures were here concerted for new expeditions by land and sea; troops were marched towards the south; and the navy of Pisa was summoned to assist the imperial arms. But in the midst of these dreams of conquest, a fatal disorder seized upon Otho, and hurried him to the grave in the very flower of his youth. He died in Rome at the age of twenty-eight after a brief reign of ten years; and his son Otho III. was immediately crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle.[19]

Death of Otho II. 2d December. 983.

The Empire of the modern Cæsars was now vested in a child four years of age. The recognition of the young grandson of the great Otho at such a moment, when the kingdoms of Germany and Italy were filled with confusion, impresses upon us the veneration in which the memory of that illustrious prince was held by the Germans. But a new claimant for the throne immediately made his appearance. Henry, the deposed Duke of Bavaria, who had disturbed the reign of the late King, now renewed his attempts upon the crown, and greatly fortified his cause by obtaining possession of the person of the young Otho. His designs were however baffled by the firmness of Willigis, Archbishop of Mentz, and the fidelity of the Dukes of Saxony, Bavaria, and Swabia, who

Otho III. 983-1002.

[19] Sismondi; and Pfeffel, ub. sup.

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animated the other states in the cause of the young King, rescued him from the hands of his kinsman, and compelled Henry to abandon his pretensions in a congress held at Rosheim. Order being restored, the government of Germany was thus arranged. The education of the infant monarch was entrusted to Bernard, Bishop of Hildesheim; and to Gerbert, whom the gratitude of his royal pupil subsequently raised to the Popedom. The administration of public affairs was committed to the Archbishop Willigis, to Theophania the mother, to Adelaide the grandmother, and to Matilda, Abbess of Quedlinburg, the aunt of Otho III. The claims of the turbulent Henry were further silenced by the restoration of his Dutchy of Bavaria; and the incumbent Duke, who resigned it in his favour, was indemnified by the gift of the Dutchy of Carinthia.[20]

Crescentius, Consul of Rome.

But though matters were thus tranquillized in Germany, the city of Rome presented scenes of the most alarming confusion. The people appeared resolutely bent on the re-establishment of the Republic; and Crescentius still aspired to the dignity of the Roman Consul. The disorders of the Church and the general odium into which the Popes had fallen favoured the projects of the demagogue and his party. Upon the death of Benedict VII., John XIV. Bishop of Pavia was elected; but after reigning a few months he was seized by the infamous Boniface VII., who since

John XIV. 983-984.

[20] Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 143.

his first expulsion from the Chair had resided at Constantinople, and now found means to return to Rome. The lawful successor of St. Peter was left to starve in a dungeon; and Boniface again usurped the Holy See. His detested reign was soon terminated by death, and the populace evinced their hatred by every kind of indignity offered to his corpse. His immediate successor was John XV. But the Popes were now reduced to their original insignificance. The Consul, in possession of the strong Mole of Hadrian, overawed the city; and John perceiving the smallness of his authority, and even trembling for his personal safety, abandoned Rome and fled into Tuscany.[21]

John XV. 985-996.

The prayers of the Pope were earnestly addressed to the German court, and the young Otho was invited by John to receive in Rome the imperial crown. Crescentius perceiving the danger which must follow the imperial visit, thought proper to temporize with the Pontiff, who was easily induced to re-enter the city, and satisfied with the nominal submission of the Consul and Senate.[22] For eight years the Pope submitted to the power of Crescentius; till weary of his degraded situation, he once more invited Otho to Rome; and the King soon afterwards quitted Germany, and entering Italy received, at Milan, the royal crown.[23] But John did not live to witness the arrival of the sovereign. At Ravenna, Otho

[21] Murat. Ann.—Sismondi, ub. sup.

[22] Murat. Ann. 987.

[23] Struvius, p. 264.

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was met by the intelligence of the Pope's decease; and he immediately despatched his cousin Bruno to Rome, with a *recommendation* to the Romans to elect him Pope. The recommendation, strengthened by the approach of the German army, was not neglected; Bruno, by the title of Gregory V., was unanimously chosen; and he had shortly afterwards the satisfaction of crowning his kinsman and patron, Emperor of the West.

Gregory V. 996-999.

Otho III. crowned Emperor. 996.

On the approach of Otho, Crescentius shut himself up in the Mole of Hadrian. The first act of the Emperor was to cite the Consul to answer for his offences against the late Pope; and Crescentius failing to answer, sentence of banishment was pronounced against him. The interference of Gregory procured his pardon, and the Roman patriot swore obedience to the western Emperor. But the oath was observed only so long as Otho remained in Rome; and immediately after his departure, Gregory was compelled to fly the city. The daring conduct of Crescentius may be accounted for by his reliance on the Emperor of the East with whom he had opened an intercourse; and the absence of Otho in Germany favoured his rebellion. But Otho III. on this occasion imitated the avenging promptitude of his grandfather. For the second time marching to Rome, he besieged Crescentius in his fortress, which soon surrendered to the German arms. The Consul was beheaded, and his body hung on a gibbet; his most active partizans also suffered death; and a Greek priest, who

Execution of Crescentius. 998.

had been nominated Pope by the style of John XVI., was deprived of his eyes and tongue; and being otherwise cruelly mutilated was led on an ass in derision through the streets of Rome. Gregory survived his restoration but a short time; and Otho immediately bestowed the Popedom on his tutor Gerbert, who was crowned by the title of Silvester II.[24]

Silvester II. 999-1003.

In this last transaction the Emperor has been accused of treachery by the Italian historians;[25] and it is pretended that the Mole of Hadrian might have defied the arms of Otho, had not Crescentius been deceived into surrender by a promise of his personal safety. So dark a stain on the imperial good faith could hardly be effaced by the penances and pilgrimages which it is alledged were performed by Otho in expiation of his falsehood. But whatever might be the Emperor's remorse for his treatment of the leader of the Romans, he shewed little inclination to bear with patience the republican fervour of the citizens. His last visit to Rome was altogether inglorious; and he was compelled to save himself by a hasty flight from the city walls. His death which followed soon afterwards, at the age of twenty-two, has been attributed by the German writers to fever; whilst the Romans have framed a romantic story and relate how

[24] Murat. Ann.—Denina, Lib. IX. c. 9.

[25] Struvius, p. 266, n. 33.—The Mole was, from him, called the Town of Crescentius; and subsequently, the Castle of St. Angelo. Fea, Descriz. di Roma, p, 6.

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Stephania the widow of Crescentius endured the love of the Emperor that she might avenge by poison the tragical end of her husband.[26] In the eyes of his German subjects the lofty qualities of Otho III., the nobleness of his mind, and the superiority of his talents promised a career of glory which might have rivalled the fame of his great progenitor.[27] But the Italians were entirely blind to his merits: and in its progress through Italy towards Aix-la-Chapelle, the imperial corpse was loaded with the insults and execrations of the people.[28]

Death of Otho III. Jan. 23d. 1002.

Kingdoms of Poland and Hungary.

In the reign of this prince, Poland, already converted to christianity, acknowledged the supremacy of the Emperor: its Duke Misilaus did homage to Otho, and under the imperial banners turned his arms against his more barbarous brethren of Sclavonia. Boleslaus, the son of Misilaus, is also said to have obtained from Otho the title of King of Poland in the year 1000.[29] About the same time Hungary was exalted into a kingdom, under Stephen, son of Geysa the first christian Duke. The virtues of Stephen were rewarded in his lifetime by Pope Silvester II., who presented him with the royal crown, which was from that period used

[26] Struvius, p. 268.

[27] Murat. Ann.—Giannone, Lib. VIII. c. 4.—Denina, ub. sup.

[28] Ditmar, apud Struvium. p. 269.

[29] Dambrowska, daughter of Boleslaus, Duke of Bohemia, persuaded her husband Misilaus, Duke of Poland, to abandon paganism, and he became a christian in 965. Mosheim, Cent. X. part I. c. I.—Murat Ann. 986.—Bayle's Dict. Art. Boleslaus.

at the coronation of the Kings of Hungary. After his death in 1038 he was canonized as a Saint by Benedict IX: the reigning Pope.[30]

Ardoino, King of Italy.

As soon as the death of Otho was known through Italy, the nobles and bishops assembled at Pavia for the purpose of electing a new King. As the late Emperor left no children they ventured to depart from the established maxim; and instead of awaiting the election of a German monarch, resolved to choose an Italian prince. The most conspicuous among them for talent and courage was Ardoino, Marquis of Ivrea; and him they, therefore, elected King of Italy and crowned in the Church of St. Michael. Meanwhile the Germans were not inactive. The merits of Otho, Duke of Franconia, grandson of the Great Otho, pointed him out as the most worthy; and upon his refusal a keen struggle arose between Henry, Duke of Bavaria, and Herman II. Duke of Swabia. This was soon terminated by the election and coronation of the former; and Herman perceiving his cause desperate submitted and swore allegiance to his rival.

Henry II. King of Germany. 1002.

Henry II. was the great grandson of Henry the Fowler; and consequently cousin to the late Emperor, and member of the house of Saxony. The kingdom of Italy had been vested in his family for more than forty years, and upon the possession of that kingdom depended the imperial title. As soon as the pacification of Germany permitted,

[30] Pfeffel, p. 150.—Mosheim, ub. sup.—Butler's Lives of the Saints, vol. IX. Sept. 2d.

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Henry marched against Ardoino; who during the short time he occupied the Italian throne had contrived by his violence and inhumanity to alienate the affections of his new subjects.[31] Henry, therefore, received a cordial welcome from the Italian Princes, and being proclaimed King of Italy was crowned at Pavia by the Archbishop of Milan. But his coronation was attended by an ominous calamity. Amongst the inhabitants of Pavia were many partizans of Ardoino; the followers of Henry were elate with wine and success; and the flame of discord was easily kindled between the Pavians and the Germans. A fierce encounter was carried on throughout the city. The Germans, galled by the stones and missiles which were discharged upon them from the walls and houses, set fire to the town; and the whole of Pavia, including the royal palace, became a heap of ashes. Henry in vain endeavoured to quell these frightful excesses; many of the citizens perished in the confusion; and that day was long remembered by the Pavians, who cherished a bitter hatred to their German sovereigns.[32]

And of Italy. 1004.

Pavia burnt.

War with Poland.

On his return into Germany, Henry found himself involved in a new contest. Boleslaus, Duke of Bohemia, having been expelled by his subjects, sought refuge with his kinsman Boleslaus, King or Duke of Poland; who, instead of assisting him to regain his dutchy, treacherously put out his eyes, and seized upon Bohemia in exclusion of Jaromir,

[31] Struvius, p. 276.

[32] Murat. Ann.—Pfeffel, p. 153.

the brother of the blind Duke. Jaromir appealed to Henry, who soon compelled the Pole to abandon Bohemia. But Boleslaus still continued a troublesome adversary; nor was he reduced to submission until the year 1018, when a peace was concluded not very honourable to the sovereign of Germany.[33] During the first years of the Polish war, the seizure of Valenciennes by Baldwin IV. Count of Flanders, also called the arms of Henry into Lorraine; nor could the German plume himself on the success of his expedition in that quarter. Baldwin, indeed, was reduced to nominal submission; but he obtained from Henry not only the County of Valenciennes, but also the island of Walcheren, and a considerable portion of Zealand.[34]

War with Flanders.

These with other commotions in the north had prevented Henry from enforcing his title to the imperial crown until the eleventh year of his reign as King of Germany. After the death of Silvester II. three imbecile Popes successively occupied the Popedom; and John, the son of the Consul Crescentius, bore sovereign sway in Rome. On the death of Sergius IV. the influence of the Count of Tusculum raised to the chair John, Bishop of Porto, who assumed the title of Benedict VIII. The Romans, however, refused to acknowledge the new Pope; and Benedict, unable to resist his adversaries, betook himself to Germany, and exhorted Henry to visit Rome with the promise of

The Popedom.

John XVII. 1003.

John XVIII. 1003-1009.

Sergius IV. 1009-1012.

Benedict VIII. 1012-1024.

[33] Pfeffel.—Art. de vérif. tom. II. p. 68. tom. III. p. 447.

[34] Struvius, p. 278.

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the imperial crown. On the approach of the German monarch, Ardoino retired to a strong castle; Pavia, now risen from her ashes, sullenly received the foreigners; the Romans, overawed by the army of Henry, opened their gates; and in the coronation of an Emperor saw dispelled their glorious visions of republican independence. Henry and his Queen Cunegund received in St. Peter's the imperial coronation;[35] and after the example of Charlemagne the new Emperor dispensed justice to the Romans. But the jealousy of the citizens was too violent for concealment; and a sanguinary conflict with the Germans was the immediate consequence of the ceremony. Contented with his newly-acquired title Henry did not remain to establish his authority, but immediately returned to Germany; and Ardoino emerging from his castle again disputed the sovereignty of Lombardy.

Henry crowned Emperor. 1014.

From this struggle for the Italian crown may be dated the growth of that spirit of independence which was every day gaining ground among the Lombard cities. Surrounded by their walls they had acquired individuality; and their communion was further destroyed by their severally espousing

Rivalry of the cities of Lombardy.

[35] Prior to his coronation as Emperor, Henry assumed the title of *King of the Romans* (Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 162); and was the first prince of Germany or Italy who adopted that title. (Art de vérif. tom. I. p. 15.) Muratori indeed (Ann. 1061.) thinks Henry IV. first used this title; and Denina (Riv. Ital. lib. XIII. c. 3.) asserts that Rodolph of Hapsburg was the first German Prince so intitled. But Pfeffel is fortified by a Bull of Benedict VIII, in which Henry II. is styled, "The invincible King of the Romans."

the cause of two rival sovereigns. Whilst Pavia professed herself the vassal of Ardoino, Milan, governed by her Archbishop, warmly espoused the side of Henry; and according to some historians the issue of the contest was decided by the siege of Asti under the command of this prelate. But the weight of age, rather than the arms of Milan, appears to have guided Ardoino to the monastery, where, renouncing the world, he at length resolved to spend the last moments of his life. His death, which followed soon after his retirement, did not extinguish the hostility of the Lombard cities; a deadly enmity had taken root between Pavia and Milan; and warmed by their example the other cities began to value their own energies.[36]

Death of Ardoino. 1015.

Henry, thus become the undisputed sovereign of Italy, was shortly afterwards enriched by the donation of another kingdom. Rodolph III. King of Burgundy, having no children, resolved to secure his dominions to the Emperor his nephew:[37] and in spite of the remonstrances of his subjects, who claimed the right of electing their sovereign, surrendered his crown to Henry;—reserving to himself, for his life, the title of King, but submitting to hold that title as a vassal of the Empire. Rodolph survived this cession sixteen years; and died in 1032, having by his will ratified the donation to the reigning Emperor.[38]

Burgundy ceded to Henry. 1016.

[36] Murat. Ann.

[37] The father of Henry II. married Gisella, sister of Rodolph III.

[38] Murat Ann. 1016. 1032.—Pfeffel, p. 160.—Planta's Helvetic Confederacy, ch. II. vol. I. p. 84.

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Third expedition into Italy. 1021.

The defection of Capua and Salerno, and the progress of the Greek arms in the south again called Henry into Italy. At the personal solicitation of the Pope he a third time crossed the Alps; and marching into Apulia laid siege to the city of Troia. The presence of the Emperor at once restored Capua and Salerno to obedience; but his successes were arrested by the plague which ravaged his army; and hastily quitting the ungenial heats of the south, he led the remnant of his people back into Germany. In this expedition, Henry received assistance from the Norman adventurers, then strangers in Italy; and at his departure he recommended them to his Lombard subjects, and exhorted them to complete the expulsion of the Greeks.[39]

The year 1024 proved fatal to both Pope and Emperor: the deaths of Benedict and Henry were nearly simultaneous. The character of the former derives its greatest lustre from the vigour with which he resisted the incursions of the Saracens upon the shores of Tuscany; and animated by his exhortations, the Pisans and Genoese drove out Musa, the Moorish king, from the island of Sardinia.

Under Benedict VIII. the see of Rome began to recover its temporal authority. The descendants of the younger Theodora, who had advocated the republican cause and amused the Romans with legends of liberty and independence, had lost their

[39] Murat. Ann. 1022. 1023.—Pfeffel.—Giannone, Lib. IX.

influence by the occasional presence of the Emperors; whilst the descendants of Marozia, enjoying the title of Counts of Tusculum, were enabled to place the members of their family in the chair of St. Peter. We have already noticed the Pontificates of John XI., John XII., and Benedict VII.; and after the death of Benedict VIII. his brother John XIX., though not in orders, ascended the Holy chair, in which he was afterwards succeeded by his nephew Benedict IX. The piety of Henry favoured the recovery of the papal power; and it was the inclination, as well as the interest, of that Emperor to exalt the priestly authority and depress the growth of Roman independence.[40]

John XIX. 1024-1033.

An unbounded affection for the clergy and the most profuse generosity towards them are the leading features in the character of the Emperor Henry II.[41] An absurd vow of chastity, which is said to have prohibited the consummation of his marriage, procured for him the surname of the "Chaste;" and after his death the grateful Church enrolled him and his Empress in the catalogue of her Saints.[42] By him his favourite city, Bamberg,

[40] Murat. Ann.—Dupin, vol. IX. c. 4.—Sismondi, tom. I. p. 170-331.

[41] Henry is properly styled "the Second," as King of Germany; but strictly, as Henry the Fowler never received the imperial crown, he is "the First" among the Emperors.

[42] Struvius, not without some reason, is extremely sceptical as to the chastity of the Empress; and produces against her this circumstance, quòd per triduum homo ignotus ex thalamo ipsius fuerit egressus. From the accusation of adultery Cunegund cleared herself by walking unhurt over twelve burning ploughshares;—from which it became sufficiently manifest that the ignotus was the Devil, who, according to the old Chronicle, invide-

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was erected into a Bishopric; and the most powerful of his vassals did not disdain to attach themselves as officers to the newly-created See, which was placed under the immediate patronage of the Pope.[43] Henry expired the 13th of July, 1024, in the fifty-second year of his age, and the twenty-second of his reign. With him ended the dynasty of the house of Saxony; for though his immediate successors were also descended from Henry the Fowler, they derive their generic title from their ancestor, Henry, Duke of Franconia.

Death of Henry II. 1024.

bat ejus virginitati. Struvius, p. 282. note 8. and see Butler's Lives of the Saints, March the 3d.

[43] Pfeffel, p. 158.

CHAPTER VI.

EMPERORS OF THE HOUSE OF FRANCONIA. CONRAD II. AND HENRY III.

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As the "chaste" Henry had omitted to leave any progeny, a contest occurred both in Germany and Italy for the crowns of those countries. In Germany the struggle was of short duration: two Conrads, both descended from the great Otho, were the candidates deemed most worthy; and the elder Conrad, son of Henry, Duke of Franconia, having the superiority of votes over his cousin, was peaceably crowned King.[1] But in Italy Conrad experienced more serious opposition. No sooner did the Pavians learn the death of Henry, than they burst into furious insurrection; destroyed the royal palace; and declared their resolution never again to submit to a German sovereign. Many of the nobles partook of the same spirit of hostility to the Germans; and Robert, who had succeeded his father Hugh Capet in the throne of France, was invited to accept the Italian crown, either for

Conrad II. (The Salic) King of Germany. 1024.

[1] Struvius, p. 284.—This writer accounts for his surname, The Salic, by his having been born "in terrâ Salicâ Franciæ Teutonicæ." L'Art de vérifier les Dates gives it, "à cause de sa haute naissance." Schmidt honestly declares (vol. II. p. 233) that it is difficult to guess the origin of the title.

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himself or his son Hugh. Upon the refusal of Robert, many of the nobles repeated the offer to William, Duke of Aquitaine; but William, like Robert, too plainly perceived the difficulty of contending with Conrad, and declined the tempting diadem. Meanwhile Eribert, Archbishop of Milan, had opened a negotiation with the new King of Germany; by his influence the opposition of the Italian princes gradually died away; and although Pavia resolutely shut her gates against the royal invader, Conrad found himself honourably welcomed to Milan. Before he quitted Germany, he had taken care to get his son Henry elected his successor in that kingdom; at Milan he was himself crowned King of Lombardy; and at Rome he and his consort Gisella received the imperial crown from John XIX., in the presence of Rodolph III. King of Burgundy, and Canute, the Dane, King of England. By his appearance in Benevento and Capua those states were overawed; the Normans were by him encouraged in their hostility to the Greeks; and having thus swept through Italy, the new Emperor returned to his native country.[2] There indeed the rebellion of his step-son Ernest, Duke of Swabia, required his presence: but these disorders were soon appeased, and only deserve mention on account of Ernest being one of the first German Princes who incurred the *Ban* of the Empire.[3] The death of Rodolph III. King of Burgundy in 1032 engaged Conrad in a war with

Conrad crowned Emperor. 1027.

[2] Murat. Ann.—Schmidt, Book V. c. 1.—Denina, Lib. X c. 2. [3] Pfeffel.

Eudes, Count of Champagne, who, as nephew of the deceased monarch, claimed the succession to that kingdom. Thither Conrad promptly repaired, and caused himself to be elected and crowned King in a general assembly of the Burgundian states at Payerne. A succession of easy victories, and at length the death of his rival, put him in quiet possession of Burgundy; and that rich country was portioned out into small principalities, many of which were destined to be re-united to France, or to escape entirely from the imperial jurisdiction.[4]

Conrad, crowned King of Burgundy. 1033.

The Emperor Conrad was again called into Italy by the troubles of Lombardy. Under that system, which had been introduced by the Lombards[5] and was now gradually ripening into maturity, the great Lords who held their possessions of the sovereign were permitted to alienate a portion to inferior nobles, distinguished by the name of *Valvassors* or *Captains*. Subordinate to the Valvassors were the *Valvassins*, their own immediate feudatories; and again, below all, were the Serfs and Slaves. The arbitrary conduct of the superior Lords towards their vassals had long been the subject of complaint; and the insupportable

Civil war in Lombardy. 1035.

[4] Pfeffel, p. 185.—Schmidt, vol. II. p. 241.—Burgundy, at the death of Rodolph, was bounded by the Alps and the Rivers Reuss and Aar on the one part, and by the Rhone and Mount Jura on the other; comprising Provence, Dauphiné, Savoy, the Lionnois, Franche-Comté, the Valais, the Pays de Vaud, Geneva, and the Cantons of Berne, Soleure, Friburg, and Bâle (Pfeffel, p. 186);—and not, as Mr. Hallam states (Middle Ages, vol. II. p. 151), "the *whole* mountainous region which we now call Switzerland."

[5] Giannone, Lib. IX. c. 1. s. 1. p. 367.

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tyranny of Eribert, the archbishop and imperial governor of Milan, at length roused the gentlemen[6] of that city to take up arms against him. For some time the city was the theatre of war; but the power of Eribert prevailing, the gentlemen were driven out, and the conflict was transferred to the open country. The confusion was now enhanced by the alliance of other cities to the several combatants, amongst which Lodi particularly distinguished herself by her animosity to Milan and her archbishop. A great battle was fought at Campo Malo, which was rendered undecisive by the arrival of night; and before any farther important blow, Conrad at the head of his army arrived in Lombardy. Eribert, the chief promoter of the disorder, was thrown into prison; and the Bishops of Vercelli, Cremona, and Placentia were banished from their Sees. For the future regulation of the Lombard fiefs, Conrad now promulgated his celebrated Edict; the superior Lords were forbidden to deprive their vassals of their fiefs unless by the judgment of their Peers; the benefices were declared hereditary among the males; and in default of lineal heirs, the collateral were allowed to inherit.[7] But in the midst of his attempts to

Feudal Edict of Conrad II. 1037.

[6] By the term "Gentlemen," we may understand that class of persons, under the rank of nobility, whose possessions enabled them to live without any kind of labour for their sustenance. "Gentiluomini (says Machiavelli) sono chiamati quelli, ch'oziosi vivono de' proventi delle loro possessioni abbondantemente, senza avere alcuna cura, o di coltivare, o d'alcun' altra necessaria fatica a vivere."—Discorsi, Lib. I. c. 55.

[7] Giannone (Lib. IX. c. I. s. 1.), on the authority of Sigonius, has placed

restore tranquillity Conrad had the mortification to learn that Eribert had escaped from his guards, and had entered Milan to the great joy of the citizens. After a fruitless attempt to reduce the city the Emperor abandoned the siege; and through Tuscany and Rome led his forces into the south, where his presence allayed the disorders which had arisen amongst the Normans. But a destructive contagion which broke out in his army compelled him to hasten homeward; and he set out for Germany, leaving Lombardy still more convulsed than he had found it. For the same spirit which had excited the Valvassors to resist *their* Lords, now roused the Valvassins against the Captains; and the very Serfs and Slaves began to exhibit marks of impatience at their miserable state of thraldom.[8]

1038.

It was about this period that two remarkable institutions had their origin; the one the "Truce of God;" the other the *Carroccium.* The increasing practice of private warfare induced the bishops of France, early in the eleventh century, to seize on the superstition of the people, in order to effect a suspension of the horrible atrocities which were unceasingly perpetrated throughout

The Truce of God.

the laws of Conrad relative to Fiefs in the year 1026, at the assembly of Roncaglia; and Denina and Sismondi ascribe the decree here cited to the same period. I have followed Muratori and Schmidt in postponing it till 1037; and Mr. Hallam in his elaborate chapter on the Feudal System has done the same.

[8] Murat. Ann. 1035. 1037. 1038.—Schmidt, vol. II. p. 244.—Sismondi. tom. I. p. 113.

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the kingdom. They accordingly, by a pious fraud, feigned a revelation from heaven; by which all persons were forbidden, under severe penalty, to carry on war or commit any act of violence from the night of Wednesday till the morning of Monday. This divine *Truce*, which secured peace for at least four days in every week, was immediately adopted in Germany and Italy, and formally received as part of the law of both kingdoms.[9]

The Carroccium.

The *Carroccium*, the invention of which is generally ascribed to Eribert, Archbishop of Milan, was a vehicle drawn by oxen, with a lofty mast and yard, surmounted by a golden ball, and adorned with two white banners. In the middle of the mast was the figure of Christ crucified; and other symbols were introduced calculated to render the machine the object of peculiar reverence. The care of it was entrusted to a chosen band; it was conducted in the midst of the army; its presence was supposed to animate the courage of the combatants; its loss was the certain token of defeat and ruin. This Carroccium, at first used in the civil wars of Milan, was soon afterwards adopted by the other Lombard cities; and became in every battle the grand object of attack and defence.[10]

Death of Conrad II. 1039.

War still raged in Italy, when the news of the Emperor's death for a moment suspended the strife.

[9] Murat. Ann. 1033.—Pfeffel, p. 188.—Schmidt, ub. sup.—Anquetil, Hist. de France. tom. II. p. 166.—Planta's Helv. Confed. c. III.

[10] Murat. Ann. 1039.

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Conrad the Salic expired at Utrecht in the sixteenth year of his reign; and was immediately succeeded by his son Henry, already crowned King of Germany and Burgundy. The care of his mother Gisella had been directed to the education of the young prince; and the nation entertained the highest hopes of their new sovereign. Immediately upon his accession, the turbulent archbishop of Milan appeared at the Diet of Ingelheim; and sealed his peace and pardon by his voluntary submission.[11] But the defection of Bretislaus, Duke of Bohemia, soon called Henry into action.

Henry III. King of Germany.

The disordered state of Poland during the minority of Casimir I. filled Bretislaus with the hope of becoming master of that country; and he had already reduced Breslau and other cities during the reign of Conrad II. As Bretislaus now refused to yield the accustomed obedience to the Empire, Henry sent a force to the assistance of Casimir; but being entangled in the forests the imperial troops were surprized and cut to pieces on the frontiers of Bohemia. In the following year, however, the arms of Henry were crowned with success; and Prague having fallen into his hands, the contumacious Duke was compelled to submit, and on payment of three years' arrear of tribute was received into favour. At the same time peace was made between the Bohemians and the Poles; and Casimir established on the throne of Poland.[12]

Henry invades Bohemia. 1041.

Submission of Duke Bretislaus. 1042.

[11] Schmidt, Book V. chap. II. vol. II. p. 246.

[12] Schmidt, vol. II. p. 248.—Art. de vérif. tom. III. p. 448.

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Expeditions into Burgundy and Hungary. 1042 1045.

The more firmly to secure for himself the crown of Burgundy, Henry proceeded to that kingdom; and by his marriage with Agnes, daughter of William IV. Count of Poitiers, and Duke of Aquitaine, and grandaughter of Otho-William, Duke of Burgundy,[13] allied himself with the chief Burgundian nobles. He also successfully espoused the cause of Peter, who as nephew of Gisella, wife of St. Stephen, laid claim to the crown of Hungary. Against this prince the Hungarian states set up Uban, who had married a sister of Stephen. But the arms of Henry triumphed over the wishes of the nation; Uban was defeated and slain; and in return for this assistance, Peter surrendered to the Empire the territory on the Austrian side of the Leitha, which Henry forthwith erected into an imperial fief in favour of Leopold, son of Albert, Margrave of Austria.[14]

War of Milan. 1041-1044.

The attention of the victorious Henry was now drawn to Italy, where war was again raging in Milan. The people of that city were still oppressed by the nobles; and a blow inflicted by a noble upon a citizen caused a general insurrection of the lower classes. After an obstinate combat in the streets the nobles were driven out of the city; but assisted by the inhabitants of the surrounding country, they were enabled to blockade Milan; and the warfare was carried on with all the bitterness of personal hatred. At length the city began to fail in provisions; famine spread its deadly

[13] Ante, p. 100. note 44. [14] Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 194.—Schmidt, p. 249.

ravages amongst the citizens; and the people were glad to purchase peace by re-establishing the nobles within their walls.[15]

Schism in the Church. Benedict IX. 1033-1044.

The Holy See also presented a scene of schism and confusion. John XIX. was succeeded in the Popedom by his nephew Benedict IX.; a man infamous for every vice, and only indebted to the wealth of his family for the exalted station he was born to disgrace. Wearied at length by his atrocities, the Romans expelled him the city, and elected Silvester III. as his successor. But Benedict, aided by his family, immediately regained the Chair; and finding himself unable to retain it, sold the Pontificate to John, Archpriest of Rome, who assumed the name of Gregory VI.[16] To this miserable posture was the Vicariate of Christ reduced, when Henry, availing himself of the tranquillity of the north, arrived in Italy. His first care was to appease the troubles of the Church. In a council held at Sutri the claims of Benedict, Silvester, and Gregory were examined; and the election of all three being proved simoniacal and otherwise void, they were degraded, and the Pontificate was declared vacant. A new and formal nomination by the clergy and people immediately placed in the throne Suidger, Bishop of Bamberg, a prelate of great piety and learning, who was consecrated Pope by the title of Clement II. The old but almost obsolete maxim was revived, by which the consent of the Emperor was made

Gregory VI. 1044-1046.

Clement II. 1046-1047.

[15] Murat. Ann. 1041-1044.

[16] Dupin, vol. IX. c. IV.

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necessary to the validity of the papal election. Henry and his queen received the imperial crown; and the Emperor being declared *Patrician* by the senate and people of Rome was invested with the green mantle and the golden diadem and ring, the badges of that ancient dignity.[17] Far from violating the fundamental rule during the reign of Henry, the Romans appear to have called upon the Emperor to nominate the succeeding Popes; and the three immediate successors of Clement, all Germans by birth, owed their elevation solely to the voice of their sovereign. Leo IX., indeed, consented to lay aside the pontifical ensigns, until after his election in Rome by the clergy and people; a measure of moderation which he was induced to practise by the advice of the monk Hildebrand, who was destined to act so conspicuous a part, when he himself rose to be head of the Church.[18]

Henry crowned Emperor. 1046.

Damasus II. 1048.

Leo IX. 1049-1054.

Victor II. 1055-1057.

From Rome the Emperor passed into the south, where he granted to the Normans the investiture of the countries they had acquired;[19] and as the

Investiture of the Normans, by the Emperor, 1047.

[17] Murat. Ann.—Pfeffel, p. 196. [18] Giannone, Lib. IX. c. III. p. 414.

[19] The rise and progress of the Norman kingdom in Italy are so fully and perspicuously treated by Gibbon in his fifty-sixth chapter, that I forbear dwelling on this portion of history, more particularly as the Norman dynasty has little connexion with the Western Empire until the twelfth century. I shall merely recapitulate the order and dates of the Norman conquests.

From the Greeks.	From the Lombards.
1043. Apulia (except Bari).	
1059. Calabria.	1058. Capua.
1070. Bari.	
1075. Amalfi.	1075. Salerno.
1139. Naples.	1077. Benevento.

Beneventines refused to open their gates to him, he caused Pope Clement to pronounce them excommunicated, bestowing the whole territory on the Normans, with the exception of the city of Benevento. This he afterwards made over to the Pope in exchange for the Bishopric of Bamberg, which Henry II. had consigned to the Holy See upon its first erection.[20] Of his generosity towards the Normans Henry seems afterwards to have repented; and he assisted Pope Leo IX. in his rash attempt to drive out the encroaching strangers. But the honourable treatment of Leo in his captivity[21] converted the Pontiff's hostility into esteem; and in his turn he assumed the right of investing his generous enemies with a still more ample territory. To Umfredo, Count of Apulia, and his heirs was granted the investiture of Apulia and Calabria and all they *might* acquire in Sicily. After the final expulsion of the Greeks from Italy and the capture of Capua from the Lombards, the gift was farther enlarged by Pope Nicholas II. The principality of Capua was confirmed to Richard, Count of Aversa; the *Dutchy* of Apulia and Calabria to Robert Guiscard, together with all *future* conquests in Sicily;—to be held by an oath of fealty, and an annual tribute to the See of Rome.[22]

And by Leo IX. 1054.

1059.

During his residence in Italy, Henry had remarked

[20] Giann. ub. sup.

[21] See Gibbon, vol. X. p. 268.

[22] Giannone, Lib. IX. c. 3. The name of Calabria was extended by the Greeks to the ancient Bruttii and Lucania, when they began to lose ground in the *true* Calabria. Gian. Lib. VI. c. 2. tom. III. p. 30.

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with jealousy and distrust the wealth and power of Boniface, Duke of Tuscany; who had also received from the late Emperor Conrad Mantua, Modena, Reggio, and other fiefs in Lombardy. By his second marriage with Beatrice, daughter of Frederic II. Duke of Lorraine and of Matilda, daughter of Herman II. Duke of Swabia, Boniface became connected with the Emperor and the royal family of France, and acquired many extensive estates in Lorraine. The splendour of his court in Tuscany rivalled the magnificence of kings; and the uneasiness of Henry at the overgrown power of his vassal hurried him into an act of duplicity by which he endeavoured to possess himself of the person of Boniface. The death of that noble quieted the imperial distrust, until Henry learned with consternation the project of a double marriage of the widow Beatrice with Godfrey IV. Duke of Brabant; and of Matilda, the heiress of the vast estates of Boniface,[23] with a son of the Duke, also named Godfrey. Of all who had signalized themselves by animosity towards Henry none had been so conspicuous as the elder Godfrey, who by this twofold union was now in a condition to dispute with him the very sovereignty of Italy. Full of these apprehensions the Emperor again quitted Germany; and crossing the Alps proceeded to hold a diet at Roncaglia, after the custom of his

Second expedition into Italy. 1055.

[23] At the time this marriage was concerted, Matilda was not heiress of Boniface, but became so by the premature deaths of her sister Beatrice and her brother Frederic in 1055. Mur. Ann. See Appendix, Table X.

predecessors. Godfrey, apprised of the Emperor's arrival and fearing to place himself in the power of his enemy, sent forward his dutchess Beatrice and a train of attendants with the most dutiful protestations of loyalty. But Henry, under pretence of his kinswoman having contracted a marriage without his consent, caused Beatrice to be arrested; and he then marched into Tuscany, upon the plea of attending a council which Pope Victor II. had appointed to be held at Florence. The Duke of Brabant, perceiving the hostile spirit of his sovereign, withdrew from Italy: and Henry, dreading the machinations of Godfrey in Germany, resolved to follow him thither. Scarcely had he returned to his paternal dominions ere death cut short his career, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his reign.[24]

Death of Henry III. 1056.

Henry was brave, pious, generous, and wise, and a diligent cultivator of letters; and though continually harassed by the revolt of the Hungarians and Sclavonians, Germany had seldom been more flourishing than under his reign. As a proof of his courage, we are assured that he called on Henry I. of France to settle their differences by single combat, which had the immediate effect of silencing his opponent;[25] though some French writers claim the merit of the challenge for their

[24] Murat. Ann.—Denina, Lib. IX. c. 4.—Pignotti, Stor. della Toscana, Lib. II. c. 3. p. 90.

[25] Pfeffel, p. 201.—According to Lambert (apud Schmidt, vol. II. p. 262.) the challenge so terrified Henry I. that he fled during the night.

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monarch, and retort the disgrace of refusal on the Emperor.[26] Henry III. was twice married; by his first wife, Cunegund, daughter of Canute King of England, he had only one daughter, who became Abbess of Gandersheim; by his second, Agnes, daughter of William Duke of Aquitaine, he had two sons and four daughters; 1. Henry, his successor, already elected and crowned in his life time;[27] 2. Conrad, Duke of Bavaria, who died shortly before his father; 3. Matilda, married to Rodolph, Duke of Swabia; 4. Sophia-Judith, married first to Solomon, King of Hungary, and afterwards to Uladislaus, Duke of Poland; 5. Gisella; and 6. Adelaide; who both embraced a monastic life.

[26] Anquetil, Hist. de France, tom. II. p. 169.

[27] A.D. 1052.

CHAPTER VII.

EMPERORS OF THE HOUSE OF FRANCONIA, CONTINUED.
HENRY IV. HENRY V.

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Henry IV. King of Germany. 1056.

HENRY IV., King of Germany elect, was but six years of age when he succeeded his father. The care of his education devolved upon his mother the Empress Agnes, who prudently strengthened her cause by a reconciliation with Godfrey, Duke of Brabant, and his ally Baldwin V. Count of Flanders. The quiet of Germany was, however, soon disturbed by a rebellion of the Saxons; and a conspiracy headed by Otho of Thuringia, a discontented noble, threatened the life of the young King. The dark design was brought to light; and Otho soon afterwards perished in an engagement by the hand of Bruno of Brunswick, the cousin of Henry.[1]

For six years the Empress continued to govern with the assistance of Henry, Bishop of Augsburg; but his influence in the state excited the envy of the other prelates and nobles; and Henry being

[1] Struvius, p. 306.—Pfeffel, p. 202.—Art de vérifier les Dates, tom. III. p. 424.

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separated from his mother, the government was usurped by three intriguing priests, Sigifrid, Archbishop of Mentz, Hanno, Archbishop of Cologne, and Albert, Archbishop of Bremen. The first, indeed, seems to have interfered little in the management of the state, or the education of his royal pupil; and the lessons of virtue and moderation which were zealously inculcated by Hanno soon became irksome to the untractable spirit of Henry. But Albert took a certain road to the prince's favour; and whilst he himself affected great sanctity of manners, he connived at the headstrong boy's dissipations, and flattered him by extravagant representations of his greatness and prerogative. The vehement protestations of the States at length compelled Henry to dismiss his unworthy favourite; but his dismissal was only for a short period; and an unsuccessful revolt of his enemies greatly strengthened his power, which he contrived to retain till his death in 1072. On that event Hanno was again called to govern the state, until wearied by the irregularities of his sovereign he retired from the thankless office, and abandoned the King to the vicious bent of his own inclinations. The unbridled exercise of his wanton and tyrannical disposition soon kindled a new rebellion of the Saxons: and his brother-in-law, Rodolph, Duke of Swabia, with other of the German princes, appeared in arms against him. An accommodation was, however, soon effected; and Henry immediately became involved in a struggle infinitely more memorable;

and one which necessarily recalls us to the state of the Church.[2] CHAPTER VII.

Victor II. was succeeded in the Popedom by Stephen IX. brother of Godfrey, Duke of Brabant; and whatever truth there may be in the assertion that he designed to create that noble King of Italy, death cut him off when he had filled the Pontificate only a few months. The influence of the Tusculan family again prevailed, and without any reference to the German court Benedict X. was raised to the Chair.[3] It is remarkable that on this occasion the Empress should fix on Hildebrand to assert the royal prerogative; on him, who was destined to shake the imperial influence to the very foundation. That famous monk, now become Cardinal, was despatched to Rome; the intruder was compelled to secede, and his successor Nicholas II. was elected. But whilst the new Pope affected to admit the imperial right of confirmation, he published a decree by which the papal election was confirmed to the clergy and people of Rome, with a vague and general salvo for the rights of the future Emperor.[4] It cannot be doubted that this evasive contrivance was the work of Hildebrand; and when on the death of Nicholas the deep policy of the monk repressed his ambition and dictated the election of his creature the feeble Alexander II., no reference was made to the German court by the new Pope, who fortified himself in his independence

The Popedom.

Stephen IX. 1057-1058.

Benedict X. 1058.

Nicholas II. 1058-1061.

Alexander II. 1061-1073.

[2] Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 202.—Art de vérif. les Dates, tom. III. p. 266. Struvius, p. 306.

[4] Pfeffel, p. 206.

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by an alliance with Robert Guiscard, Duke of Apulia. This renunciation of the German sovereign's authority plunged Alexander into the embarrassments of a schism. Another Pope by the title of Honorius II. was recognised in Germany and Lombardy; and Alexander was compelled for a time to abandon Rome. After a vigorous struggle he regained possession of the city; and Honorius, blockaded by his rival in the Mole of Hadrian, was content to submit to a sentence of deprivation pronounced in a council at Mantua.

Schism.

Honorius II. Antipope.

The seeds of dissension were now sown, and the Pope and *future* Emperor regarded each other with distrust and jealousy. As yet, indeed, no open rupture had occurred, and the capricious boy was restrained from repudiating his newly espoused queen Bertha by the solemn admonition of Alexander.[5] After a turbulent reign of twelve years Alexander died; and Hildebrand no longer resisted the importunities of the Romans, who immediately hailed him as Pope, with the title of Gregory VII. This election having been made without the imperial concurrence Henry despatched an envoy to Rome, who called upon Gregory to answer for thus assuming the Popedom without his sanction. Gregory thought it prudent to appease the Cæsar by representing that the Popedom had been forced upon him, assuring Henry that he had all along intended to defer his ordination until he had obtained the imperial confirmation. After some little hesi-

Gregory VII. 1073-1085.

[5] Mur. Ann. 1068-1069.—Gian. Lib. X. c. 11.

tation, Henry, though cautioned by the more sagacious of his Bishops, was pleased to recognize the election; and Gregory having thus cleared away all exception to his title prepared to put in execution measures he had long meditated, the immediate object of which was the independence of the Roman See, and the inevitable result, a breach with the sovereign of Germany.[6]

His first proceeding assumed the laudable shape of reforming abuses in the Church. The ancient right of the clergy and people to elect the bishops of their respective dioceses had been gradually suspended by the sovereign; who, whilst he invested the prelates of the realm with their temporal possessions, frequently took occasion to nominate the new prelate to his benefice, and the ceremony of investiture was celebrated by the symbolical delivery of the pastoral Ring and Crozier.[7] The payment, therefore, of a liberal sum to the monarch or his favourite gradually became the readiest way of obtaining episcopal office; and the scandal of simony notoriously pervaded the Catholic Church. The young Henry had imbibed, amongst other notions of his regal authority, the firm conviction of his right to invest the bishops of his kingdom; and his long minority enabled his spiritual guardians to

[6] Dupin, vol. IX. c. V.—Schmidt, vol. II. p. 304.—Struvius, p. 314.

[7] As early as 918 Conrad I. assumed the right of vacating the election of an Archbishop of Bremen, and setting up his own nominee, to whom John X. sent the Pallium. Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 101. This encroachment occasioned a war in Germany in 1008.—See the dissertation of Mosheim on Investitures, cent. XI. part II. c. 2, and Pfeffel, p. 226.

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obtrude their own relatives and creatures into the most valuable benefices. This system of corruption and aggression upon the rights of the lawful electors frequently led to serious disorders. Indignant at beholding Conrad the kinsman of Hanno, Archbishop of Cologne, thus imposed upon them, the people of Treves burst into insurrection, and
1066. tumultuously put to death their newly-invested prelate. A similar infringement of the liberties of the Milanese drew down on the intruder the cen-
1069. sures of Alexander II., and the people of Milan resisted in arms the minion of the German court. The reform of these abuses was properly the office of the head of the Church; but unfortunately Gregory proceeded in the good work with so rude a hand, that the evil became highly exaggerated, and produced a vehement struggle between the Empire and the Popedom. Unable, or unwilling, to distinguish the nomination from the investiture
Bull against lay investitures. 1075. of the Bishops, the new Pope published a fulminating edict, by which he forbad these lay investitures upon pain of excommunication. Henry immediately perceived how deeply this denunciation affected himself; but he was too much occupied at home by the rebellious spirit of his Saxon subjects to offer immediate resistance. The bold proceedings of Gregory, however, soon drove him to a less temperate line of conduct.

The unremitted hostility of the Saxons made Henry desirous of securing the Pope as his ally. He formally preferred a complaint to Gregory of

the sacrilegious excesses of the rebels, who had plundered the churches, overturned the altars, and violated the sepulchres of the dead.[8] Nothing could have better suited the aspiring views of the Pope than to find himself appealed to by the King; and at the same time he gladly listened to the counter-complaints of the Saxons, who accused Henry of adultery, simony, and a long list of offences. With an audacity unprecedented he sent messengers to the German court, summoning Henry to appear in Rome at the ensuing Lent, and there, under pain of excommunication, to answer the charges of the Saxons. But Henry, who had recently obtained a signal victory over the insurgents, deemed himself sufficiently strong to defy the papal citation, and assembled the German bishops at Worms; where a resolution was adopted, that the election of Gregory was irregular and void, and that he should be peremptorily called upon to vacate the pontifical throne. Far from complying with this extravagant mandate the indignant Pope thundered forth the loudest censures of the Church; and declaring the King deprived of the royal dignity at once absolved his subjects from their allegiance. Henry immediately felt the effects of the papal vengeance in the desertion of Rodolph, Duke of Swabia, Berthold, Duke of Carinthia, and Guelph VI. Duke of Bavaria. Many of his principal subjects followed their example; and the German bishops, terrified by the menaces of the

Defiance by Henry IV. 1076.

Henry deprived of his crown.

[8] Struvius, p. 317.

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undaunted Pope, hastened to obtain forgiveness; and recanted, with abject humility, the opinions they had so loudly expressed at Worms.[9]

The Countess Matilda sides with Gregory.

At this juncture, Gregory received a most important accession of strength in the alliance of the Countess Matilda,[10] who had become possessed, in right of her father and her husband, of very extensive possessions in Italy and Lorraine. That illustrious lady, destined to be one of the most valuable friends of the Church, was lineally descended from Albert-Azzo, Lord of Canossa, who had been invested with the County of Reggio and Modena by Otho I.[11] Her father Boniface, in addition to his other possessions, had been created Marquis of Tuscany by the Emperor Conrad;[12] and by the premature deaths of an infant brother and sister, Matilda became sole heiress of her father's rich territories, and of the estates of her mother Beatrice of Lorraine. She had bestowed her hand on her maternal kinsman Godfrey V. Duke of Brabant, surnamed the Crooked;[13] but the seasonable murder of this detested husband, at the

[9] Schmidt, p. 309.

[10] Matilda was born 1046, and was, by her mother Beatrice, a cousin of Henry IV.; Gisla, mother of Henry III. and Matilda, mother of Beatrice, being both daughters of Herman II. Duke of Swabia. There was also a more remote relationship; Herman being descended in the *male* line from Otho I., as Henry was in the *female*. (Murat. Ann. 982. 1002. 1036.) Voltaire in his Essai sur les Mœurs, c. 86, calls Matilda's mother *sister* of Henry III.; and in the Siécle de Louis XIV. c. 39. makes Matilda herself Henry's sister.

[11] Ante, p. 111.

[12] Art de vérif. tom. III. p. 748.

[13] His sister Ida was mother of the celebrated Godfrey of Bouillon. Gibbon, XI. p. 30.—Pfeffel, p. 216.

very moment of the rupture between Gregory and Henry, left her at perfect liberty to espouse the cause of the holy father. For the sake of restoring peace to the Empire and to the Church, Gregory had appointed to meet the chief princes of Germany in a conference at Augsburg. Thither Matilda resolved to accompany him; and the illustrious pair had already reached the city of Vercelli, when an extraordinary resolution of Henry arrested their progress.

Alarmed at the hostile disposition of his subjects, the King of Germany heard with dismay that his mortal enemy was about to appear in his dominions. He resolved to anticipate the arrival of Gregory; and taking with him his queen Bertha and his son Conrad, crossed the Alps in the midst of a severe winter, and astonished the Pope by the news of his being already in Piedmont. Doubtful of Henry's designs Gregory shut himself up with Matilda in the fortress of Canossa, and in that secure asylum consummated his triumph over the abject King. Barefooted and despoiled of all the ensigns of royalty, the miserable Henry awaited for three days, in the privations of cold and hunger, the returning favour of the Pontiff. At length the exhausted penitent was permitted to embrace his persecutor's feet; and, being absolved from the excommunication, partook of the offices of the Church.

Humiliation of Henry. 1077.

After this extraordinary humiliation, Henry might reasonably expect immediate re-establishment in his regal state. But the unfortunate prince soon

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found that he had incurred his degradation without any beneficial effect. His subjects appeared bent upon his deposition; and his bitter enemy and connexion Rodolph, Duke of Swabia, was prevailed upon to accept the crown of Germany. In vain did Henry call upon the Pope to restore him to his royal rights; the politic Gregory balanced between the rival sovereigns until he perceived fortune inclining to the side of Rodolph. The news of the defeat of Henry in a bloody battle decided the inclination of the Pope; a new fulmination was hurled at the fallen monarch; and a crown of gold was transmitted to Rodolph, with an inscription which carefully recorded it as the gift of the Holy See.[14]

Rodolph elected King: 1077.

And recognized by the Pope. 1080.

Nothing could exceed the wrath of Henry when he found himself thus deluded by the Pope. Assembling the clergy and people who still remained faithful to his cause, he prevailed upon them to declare Gregory deprived of the Popedom, and to elect in his place Gilbert, bishop of Ravenna, who assumed the title of Clement III. He once more tried his strength against his rival; and in a pitched battle obtained a victory, which was rendered of the last importance by the slaughter of Rodolph.[15]

Henry creates an Antipope. Clement III.

Rodolph defeated and slain.

[14] "Petra dedit Petro, Petrus Diadema Rudolpho." Struvius, p. 327.—Murat. Ann. 1073. 1080.

[15] Gian. Lib. X. c. 5.—In a battle (August 17th, 1078) during this civil war, two Archbishops, one Bishop, and one Archdeacon were prominent combatants;—"il che non si può mai intendere (says Muratori) senza orrore!"—According to some accounts Rodolph fell by the hand of Godfrey of Bouillon, whose remorse for fighting against the Pope afterwards induced him to join the first Crusade. Gibbon, vol. XI. p. 31.

In Lombardy his affairs were no less promising, and a powerful army raised by Matilda was defeated on the very day that Rodolph was slain. Flushed by these successes Henry resolved to follow his good fortune into Italy, and marched with the utmost celerity through Verona and Ravenna upon Rome. Thither, after an ineffectual siege of Florence, he arrived in the middle of April; and finding the city well prepared for defence, encamped in the field of Nero on the Vatican. After in vain besieging the Leonine city, Henry yielded to the inclemency of the season; and perceiving his army wasted by disease, withdrew for the present to Lucca. Returning, however, in the following spring, the city again resisted his attack; and the pestilential effects of the climate again compelled him to retreat. But upon a third siege Rome opened her gates to Henry, and Gregory was driven to seek shelter in the Mole of Hadrian; whilst the ruins of the Septizonium were still defended by his nephew Rustico. In the Basilica of St. Peter Henry received the imperial crown from the Antipope Clement; and having fixed his residence in the Capitol, proceeded to besiege the only portion of the city which remained unsurrendered to his power.[16]

Henry besieges Rome. 1080.

1081.

Henry takes possession of Rome: 1084.

And is crowned Emperor.

In this perilous situation Gregory had the consolation to learn that Robert the Norman was hastening to his relief with a powerful force; and Henry resolved to avoid the disgrace of defeat by

[16] Murat. Ann. 1081. 1084.—Gibbon, vol. X. p. 302.

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immediately quitting Rome. Under pretence that his presence was necessary in Lombardy, he took leave of the terrified citizens of Rome; committing the State to their care; and promising them the most extraordinary benefits when God should permit him to return.[17]

Gregory relieved by Robert Guiscard.

Three days after the departure of Henry, Robert found means to enter Rome; and releasing Gregory from his confinement restored him to the possession of the Vatican. In the struggle between the Romans and the Normans Rome was abandoned to fire and pillage; the greater portion of the city was in flames; and the horrours of devastation were further augmented by the presence of the Saracens, who filled the ranks of Robert.[18] But in an agony of terrour and distrust Gregory withdrew to Salerno; nor can we wonder that a mortal disease should have overtaken his retreat, when he beheld his dearest projects frustrated, and his person indebted for protection to a semi-barbarian. After raising the authority of the Popedom to a height to which no temporal sovereign dared aspire, Gregory VII. ended his life in exile, on the 25th of May, 1085.[19]

Gregory retires to Salerno.

His death. 1085.

The extent of Gregory's pretensions may be best understood by exhibiting some of the leading positions of his celebrated *Dictatus*, which forms so

His pretensions to universal supremacy.

[17] Murat Ann. 1084.

[18] Schmidt, vol. II. p. 332.—An estimate of the damage which Rome sustained on this occasion may be found in Hobhouse's Illustrations of Childe Harold, p. 124.

[19] The controversy between Gregory and Henry is given at great length by Dupin, vol. IX. c. V.

conspicuous a feature in the history of the Roman Church, and boldly asserts the temporal, as well as spiritual, authority of the Pope. In virtue of the merits of St. Peter, his successor is always to be regarded as a Saint. He may depose sovereigns. He may absolve subjects from their allegiance. He may displace and restore bishops without the sanction of a Council. He has the right to review the sentence of every tribunal. His own sentence is to be implicitly received.[20]

Staggering as these doctrines may at present appear, Gregory too well understood the character of his age to shrink from their open promulgation. Born at a period when empty ceremonies were mistaken for religion, and superstition diffused its terrors over a benighted people; when the little learning which then existed was deposited with the priesthood, whose interest it too frequently was to thicken the darkness; the sovereign Pontiff found much to facilitate the inculcation of the opinion that he reigned supreme on earth, the dispenser of God's favour and the instrument of his vengeance. The multitude, taught to believe in the continual interference of the Deity in the most trivial occurrences of human life, were amused by visions and miracles; and it was firmly believed that God would condescend, when appealed to, to declare the guilt or innocence of the accused by the miraculous suspension of the ordinary operations of

[20] Père Daniel, tom. III. p. 374.—Dupin, however, throws out a doubt as to this Dictatus belonging to Gregory.

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nature.[21] With such preposterous notions of the Deity, no wonder if those who dedicated themselves to His especial service were looked upon with supreme awe and veneration. Another circumstance most favourable to the power of the Church was the ill-judged policy of the sovereigns, who sought to depress the power of their temporal vassals by enriching the ecclesiastical order. Thus favoured and caressed the crafty priesthood raised themselves to a level with royalty itself; and their participation in the councils of heaven compensated for all that was wanting to adorn their characters or justify their exactions. But amongst these, the bishop of Rome very early assumed with success a pre-eminence over all other ecclesiastical authorities. We have already noticed the progress of the Popes to temporal power, and the accident which converted a priest into a prince. From that time the See of Rome grew into terrible greatness; and though sometimes depressed by the turbulence of the Romans, she soon recovered her elasticity; whilst superstition and ignorance were ever at hand

[21] Hence the Ordeals of Fire, Water, the Cross, &c. The first subjected the accused to handle, or tread on, red hot iron; and of course impunity was innocence. On the other hand, the water-ordeal only acquitted the the party in case nature prevailed, and bound hand and foot and thrown into the water, the accused sank; whereas if he floated he was evidently in league with the devil. The cross consisted in standing with the arms horizontally extended, and if the accused wearied out his accuser then he was acquitted before God and man.—Another absurdity was the wager of battle; which, to the disgrace of English jurisprudence, was still part of our Law so late as the year 1819.—For these ordeals more at large, see Mosheim, vol. II. p. 360. n. (*f*) and (*g*) by Maclaine;—and Muratori, Antiq. Ital. Diss. XXXVIII.

to countenance her pretensions and defend her extortions. Her power was greatly fortified by the unceasing growth of her wealth. In the earlier ages of Christianity, the richer members of the community administered to the necessities of the fraternity, or their little stock formed a common fund. The pious were invited to bequeath their possessions to the Church; and the restrictive decrees of Valentinian and Theodosius prove the readiness with which the invitation was accepted.[22] But when once the Popes had established with the ignorant and credulous multitude their influence with God and the Saints, they opened to themselves an inexhaustible treasury; and salvation for the dead and indulgence for the living were purchased at a premium sufficiently moderate to ensure a multitude of customers. The Pope of Rome, too, was a dealer in another sort of traffic. On several fortunate occasions the mouldering remains of dead Saints were discovered; and these, being placed at the disposal of Rome, were retailed piecemeal to the faithful.[23] But the most im-

[22] Giannone, Lib. II. c. 8. s. 4.

[23] Of the value of these Reliques some judgment may be formed from the statement of William of Malmsbury, that an arm of St. Augustine was sold by the Pope to the Archbishop of Canterbury for six thousand pounds *weight* of silver and sixty pounds *weight* of gold. And Bishop Burnet (Hist. of Reformation, Book III. vol. I. p. 440. Oxford Edit. 1816.) mentions the pledging, by the house of Wastacre, of a piece of St. Andrew's finger, set in an ounce of silver, for forty pounds. For the bringing of the bones of St. Bartholomew to Rome, see Giannone, Lib. VIII. tom. III. p. 256.—For the body of St. James, see Mariana, tom. I. p. 270.—For that of St. Mark, Daru, Hist. de Venise, tom. I. p. 81. Giovanni Villani relates, how an arm of St. Philip was presented to Florence (Lib. V. c. 14.); and

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portant and substantial heritage was claimed for the successor of St. Peter, in the ample tract of country which Constantine, or Pepin, or Charlemagne, or Lewis, had imparted to the favoured See. Like other bishops, the Popes might claim lands as appurtenant to their Sees, the *Patrimony* of their presiding Saint, for which his representative paid a small tribute, and was bound to do homage, to the superior lord.[24] But these humiliating notions ill-accorded with the growing ambition of the Popes; and in the eleventh century they claimed the independent lordship of no inconsiderable part of Italy. This territorial assumption may be more conveniently treated of hereafter;—with the life of Gregory, however, three topics are more particularly connected;—1. The supremacy of the Pope over tribunals;—2. The supremacy of the Pope over bishops;—3. The supremacy of the Pope over sovereigns. These enormous assumptions had long been faintly claimed or indirectly asserted; but it remained for the bold and uncompromising Hildebrand, when seated on the throne of St. Peter, to express with clearness and precision the exorbitant pretensions of the See of Rome.

his brother speaks of a pleasant deception put upon the Florentines by the Abbess of Teano, who delivered them an arm made of wood and chalk as the true limb of Santa Reparata. Matt. Villani, Lib. III. c. 15. 16.

[24] Thus, besides Rome, Milan, Rimini, Ravenna, &c. had their patrimonies, not merely within their own confines, but in different parts of the world. Giann. Lib. IV. c. XII. s. 4.—Muratori (Ann. 707.) points out the difference between a Fief or *Princely Dependence*, and a Patrimony; the latter being an allodial or independent territory.

1. The claim to an appeal from all other earthly tribunals was a favourite topic with the Popes. Continually fortifying their encroachments by the authority of Scripture,[25] they early asserted the right of arbitrating between their litigating dependants; the determination of civil and even criminal causes was industriously drawn from the secular tribunals to the spiritual courts; and when the supremacy of Rome was once conceded, her right to an appellant jurisdiction over the inferior sees was assumed as a corollary.[26]

2. Another result of this supremacy was the claim to a jurisdiction over other christian bishops. To such a claim, indeed, the prelates of France very early offered a spirited opposition; and Hinkmar, Archbishop of Rheims, particularly distinguished himself as the assertor of the liberties of the Gallican Church, in the reign of Charles the Bald. But the priesthood were too much interested in supporting the authority of the Popedom, for the Popedom was open to the ambition of every priest. Germany and her bishops yielded almost without a struggle; other nations either courted the yoke or submissively bowed to its imposition; and foreign prelates were content to witness the interference of the Popes in spiritual matters, which more immediately belonged to their own animadversion.[27] This assumption of supre-

[25] Matthew, c. XVIII. v. 17. 1 Cor. c. VI. v. 1. 2.

[26] Fra Paolo, Lib. IV. c. 15.—Giann. Lib. I. c. XI. s. 6.—Gibbon, vol. VIII. p. 167. vol. XII. p. 262. n. 7.

[27] Mariana. Lib. VII. c. 18.—The struggle of the German Bishops

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macy in all ecclesiastical affairs was completely established by the introduction of the papal Legates into the kingdoms of Europe, who appeared as the representatives of the Pope, and presided over the national clergy. Even the haughty William the Conqueror invited a legate into England, the first who ever appeared in the British Isles.[28]

3. But the greatest stretch of authority was the making and unmaking of Kings and Emperors. Though it was sometimes plausibly insisted, that as the Pope could confer a crown, he could therefore take it away,[29] the right of deposition was first exercised when Childeric was dethroned to make room for Pepin. The example of Charlemagne warranted the papal claim to bestow the imperial crown; and his successors in the Empire were content to forego the title of Emperor until they received it from the Pope. It was even assumed that the election and nomination of the Emperor was vested in the see of Rome.[30] The right of giving, indeed, was without difficulty established, since the object of papal generosity was usually the most powerful of the candidates: but the right of privation might not have been so easily enforced had

appears to have been, not against the *ultimate* judgment of the Pope, but against their being arraigned *in the first instance* before the Court of Rome instead of before their Peers, the bishops of their province. Schmidt, tom. II. p. 525.

[28] Hume's England, vol. I. p. 256. [29] Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 229.

[30] In convoking the estates for the election of an Emperor in 880, Pope John VIII. used these words;—"Ipse, qui à nobis ordinandus est in Imperatorem, à nobis primùm atque potissimùm debet esse vocatus atque electus." Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 67.

not superstition lent the aid of Excommunication and Interdict. The stupid reverence of the people for the priests and their denunciations enabled them to frustrate the resistance of refractory princes; and the thunders which in the dark ages roared from the Vatican startled sovereigns in their distant courts, and shewed in the altered looks of their subjects that the Pope and his decrees were more potential than the sword and the sceptre. However the monarch might himself despise the empty noise, yet, when he beheld his people turn from him with horrour as the object of divine vengeance, when his mandates were unheeded, and even his life endangered, he felt himself unable to struggle with the tyranny of opinion. The representative of St. Peter, to whom the keys of heaven had been delivered by the Saviour of the world, was too terrible a being to be resisted; and the mortal to whom power was given to bind and to loose, to pardon sins committed or to be committed, was regarded as little less than the Deity himself. Nor did the recusancy of the sovereign affect himself only; his people also were made to suffer for his contumacy; and by the interdict of the Pope the whole community was forsaken of God, the saints, and the priests. Every office of religion was suspended; the intercourse of active and social life was paralyzed; no prayers comforted the living; no blessings fell upon the dead.[31]

[31] This tremendous denunciation seems to have been first exercised on the occasion of Robert King of France's *incestuous* marriage at the end of

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These lofty assumptions lost nothing by the accession of Gregory to the chair of St. Peter. Not content with the authority which his predecessors had exercised over the crowned heads of Europe, he zealously promulgated the doctrine, that all the kings of Christendom were the vassals of the see of Rome, and were bound to do homage for their kingdoms, as well as to pay tribute. These extravagant demands were altogether resisted by Philip I. of France; but William I. of England acquiesced in the tribute; as did also the princes of Spain. By Gregory, Ladislaus I., King of Hungary, was persuaded to withdraw his allegiance from the Emperor, and to acknowledge himself the vassal of St. Peter; whilst Boleslaus II., King of Poland, was excommunicated and deposed, and the kingdom reduced to a dutchy.[32] By his quarrel with the Emperor Henry, Gregory annulled the imperial right to confirm the papal election: after him no Pope condescended to demand the

the tenth century. I have already noticed the papal interference in the case of Lothaire, King of Lorraine. But the case of Robert was particularly severe: Bertha, daughter of Conrad, King of Burgundy, was related to him in the *fourth* degree; but as the Church forbad a marriage even within the *seventh* degree, Robert was admonished by Pope Gregory V. to put away his queen, and his refusal was punished by his own excommunication and an interdict upon the kingdom. Besides this natural relationship, there was also a *spiritual affinity* between Robert and Bertha, he having been sponsor to a child which she had by her former husband Eudes, Count of Chartres. Père Daniel, tom. III. p. 288. Urban II., with more apparent justice, excommunicated Philip I. of France, who had put away his lawful wife Bertha in order to marry his mistress Bertrade. Ann. 1095.

[32] Mosheim, vol. II. p. 495. And see also Gregory's letters to the Kings of Russia, Denmark, Norway, and Dalmatia, in Dupin, ub. sup.

Emperor's ratification; and Paschall II. discarded from his coin the effigies of the German monarch.[33]

1100.

Though the death of Gregory VII. delivered the Emperor from his most dangerous enemy, he found himself compelled to struggle with a rival in the Empire, who had been raised by the adherents of the deceased Rodolph. Whilst Henry was busied in besieging Rome, Herman of Luxemburg received the crown of Germany, and was supported by the Saxon princes, by Guelf, Duke of Bavaria, and by some of the states of Swabia. The utmost distraction prevailed throughout Germany; and the bishops distinguished themselves by the zeal with which they animated the contending parties. Whilst some, under the influence of the papal legate, upheld the excommunication of Henry, others declared Pope Gregory's proceedings utterly illegal and void, and recognized the Antipope Clement III. as the true head of the Church.[34] Against the Saxons the arms of the Emperor were in the first place turned; but amongst these rebels great discord prevailed; and the Anti-Cæsar Herman incurred the censures of the Church for contracting a marriage within the prohibited degrees. Many of the Saxons voluntarily returned to their allegiance; and Henry succeeded in mastering the remainder, though not without a severe struggle and a sanguinary defeat at Pleichfeld. Herman of Luxemburg, now fallen into general contempt, obtained permis-

[33] Gibbon, vol. XII. p. 259. n. 5.—Murat. Antiq. Ital. Diss. XXVII.

[34] Struvius, p. 333.—Pfeffel, p. 220.

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1088.

sion from Henry to retire to his patrimony in Lorraine; and perished soon afterwards in a mock attack on one of his own castles.[35]

Wratislaus, first King of Bohemia. 1086.

In the midst of this confusion, the Emperor had still sufficient authority to dispose of two crowns. Out of gratitude to his faithful ally, Wratislaus, Duke of Bohemia, he conferred on him the royal title, and caused him to be crowned King at Prague by the Archbishop of Treves.[36] And at Aix-la-Chapelle, Conrad, eldest son of Henry, was anointed King of Germany by the Archbishop of Cologne in the year 1007.[37]

Besides the rebellious Saxons, the Emperor was compelled to take arms against his cousin-german, Ecbert, Margrave of Thuringia, who now aspired to the imperial dignity. Another competitor was also in the field, Ludolph, Duke of Carinthia. But these rival claims were without difficulty silenced. Ecbert was surprised and slain in a mill near Brunswick, by the vassals of Adelaide, Abbess of Quedlinburg, the Emperor's sister; and Ludolph died about the same period without striking a blow.[38]

Peace being thus restored in Germany, Henry made haste to revisit Italy, where he hoped to reap advantage from the death of his arch-foe, Pope Gre-

[35] Schmidt, vol. II. p. 337. According to some accounts, he was killed, like Abimelech, by a stone thrown down from the wall by a woman. Alberic, apud Struvium, p. 334.

[36] Pfeffel, p. 220. The title, however, of *King* of Bohemia was not assumed by his successor; and Bohemia did not become an hereditary kingdom until 1200. Post, chap. XXVII.

[37] Struvius, p. 334.

[38] Ibid. p. 335.

gory VII. After the short pontificate of Victor III., Urban II. was raised to the papacy; and, as he seemed resolved to tread in the steps of Gregory, he received the cordial support of the countess Matilda. That princess had entered into a second marriage with Guelph, son of Guelph VI. Duke of Bavaria, an union which ranged one of the most formidable of the German nobles against the fortunes of Henry. After laying waste the estates of Matilda in Lorraine the Emperor arrived in Lombardy, besieged and took Mantua, and received considerable encouragement by the rupture of Guelf with the countess, and the desertion of the father and son from the papal cause. But these propitious events were more than countervailed by the rebellion of his own son, Conrad; whose unnatural ambition tempted him to this fatal step. Seduced by the blandishments of Matilda and the Pope he was crowned King of Italy at Milan, with the promise of the imperial dignity, on condition of his yielding the great question of Investitures. Fortunately the contagion was confined to Italy; and, on his return to Germany, Henry IV. found no marks of disaffection. The assembled states maintained their fidelity; declared Conrad to have forfeited the crown; and elected in his stead Henry, second son of the Emperor, who swore to respect his father's authority, and abstain from interfering in the government. The services of the imperial partizans were liberally rewarded; and to Guelf VI. were restored the dutchy of

Victor III. 1086-1087.
Urban II. 1088-1099.

Henry again invades Italy. 1090.

Rebellion of Conrad, son of Henry IV. 1093.

1099.

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Bavaria and other states, which he had forfeited by his former rebellion. The guilty Conrad soon found his visions of dominion entirely dissipated. Discouraged by the fidelity of the Germans to the Emperor the supporters of the young prince fell rapidly away; and he died deserted and despised at Florence, not without suspicion of poison.[39]

Death of Conrad. 1101.

Henry IV. now again announced his intention of visiting Italy, in the hope of effecting a reconciliation between the Empire and the Popedom. But his schemes were at once frustrated by a new rebellion. Neither regarding the oath he had solemnly sworn, nor admonished by the example of his brother's fall, Henry, second son of the Emperor, impatient of the long reign of his father, appeared in arms against him. The rebellious prince found a warm supporter in Pope Paschall II. who succeeded Urban II. in 1099; and in a Council held in Rome solemnly renewed the censures which his predecessor Gregory had thundered against Henry.[40] No pretension of the see of Rome was more odious than the right it assumed to absolve men from oaths deliberately taken; and the new Pope taught the prince to believe that the excommunication of his father completely freed him from all obligation. In the bitterness of his heart the afflicted Henry attempted to recall his son to a sense of duty by the most gentle and touching exhortations; but these mild efforts were entirely lost upon the prince, who resolutely declared his

Paschall II. 1099-1118.

Rebellion of Henry, second son of Henry IV. 1105.

[39] Struvius.—Schmidt.—Pfeffel.

[40] Murat. Ann. 1102.

determination to avoid all intercourse with a man excommunicated by the Holy Church. Amongst the Saxons the younger Henry readily found adherents, and the papal legate zealously exerted himself to strengthen the hands of the insurgents. For some time the Emperor was contented with a defensive warfare; till at length the march of his son upon Ratisbon compelled him to more vigorous measures. Near that city the hostile armies came in sight of each other on the opposite banks of the Regen; and a battle seemed inevitable, when the chiefs on either side proposed an accommodation. The young King now protested his readiness to be reconciled to his father, provided his father were reconciled to the Church. Deceived by this shew of penitence, the credulous Emperor disbanded the greater part of his forces; and set out for the Diet at Mentz, to receive the submission of his son. To Mentz, however, he was not suffered to proceed; the plea of excommunication was urged to prevent his approaching the spot where so many bishops were assembled; and being detained at Bingen he was removed to Beckelnheim, and there delivered into the custody of the Archbishop of Spires.[41]

Thus betrayed and deserted, nothing was left for the miserable Henry but to throw himself on the mercy of his unnatural son. At Ingelheim an interview took place between them; and, intimidated by the threats of his enemies, he agreed to deliver to his persecutor the ensigns of empire and re-

[41] Struvius, p. 338.

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nounce the imperial title. But even this sacrifice availed him nothing. The papal Legate refused to relieve him from the ban of the Church without the permission of the Pope. The younger Henry was again formally elected King; and messengers were despatched to Rome with a full account of these detestable proceedings. With such rancour was the schism conducted, that in many places the very graves were desecrated; and the bones of those bishops who had sided with the Emperor were dug up and scattered abroad.[42]

By the assistance of a few remaining friends Henry IV. found means to escape to Cologne; whither he proceeded to Liege, and endeavoured to awake the German states to a sense of his injuries. But his calls to obedience were answered by the keenest reproaches for his enmity to the Church and the Roman Pontiff. At length the friendship of Henry I., Duke of Brabant, and other nobles placed him at the head of a considerable force; and the contest was about to be renewed, when his death at Liege put an end to his misfortunes. But even death could not appease the malice of his enemies. His body was taken from the grave by the papal mandate, and remained for five years deprived of the rights of sepulture; until his son and successor, who had become himself hostile to the Pope, caused it to be honourably interred at Spires.[43]

Death of Henry IV. 1106.

1111.

[42] Schmidt, p. 359.

[43] Struvius and Schmidt, ub. sup.—The latter discredits the story of Henry's having vainly begged, in his extremity, a Prebend in the Cathedral of Spires.

Thus miserably perished Henry IV. in the fifty-fifth year of his age, after a stormy and disastrous reign of half a century. By the misfortunes of his latter years he bitterly expiated the errours of his youth. Having rashly plunged into a contest with the see of Rome, he was doomed to find his own children the instruments in the hands of the Pope turned against him for his destruction; and to the daring pretensions of Gregory VII. his immediate successors added the enormous guilt of stirring up the sons against the father. Though endowed with great personal courage, Henry was deficient in that moral energy, which might have safely carried him through the struggle he was provoked to undertake. His abject conduct towards the Pope at Canossa formed a strange and disadvantageous contrast to his previous menaces and defiance; and his subsequent vigorous resistance seemed the result of personal hostility to the Church, rather than of a desire to preserve unimpaired the prerogative of the Empire committed to his charge.

Henry V. 1106-1125.

Henry V. was now mounted on a throne which he had undermined by his impious rebellion. But he soon found himself embroiled with those princes by whose assistance he had bowed his father to the grave; and his apparent devotion to the see of Rome proved only a specious pretence for sanctioning his own criminal ambition.[44]

The great question of Investitures was still to be decided; and neither the Pope nor the German

[44] Schmidt, Book V. chap. 7. vol. II. p. 366.

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1107.

King shewed the slightest sign of concession. Paschall II. made a journey into France, and assembled a Council at Troyes; in which the decrees of his predecessors on this point were solemnly ratified; and spiritual persons were strictly forbidden to do homage to a secular lord. Henry became justly alarmed at the danger he might incur by the machinations of the Pope with the French monarch and his clergy. He, therefore, despatched an embassy to Paschall; and the messengers were charged to remind his Holiness that the Emperor Charlemagne had always invested his bishops, and to demand a general Council at Rome, whither Henry intended to proceed in the following year. The messengers were not wanting in asserting the imperial claim; and even intimated that the matter must be decided in Rome by the sword. But the Pope unmoved by this menace renewed his injunctions to the clergy, suspending some German bishops who had neglected his summons to the Council; and Henry, no less resolute, bad defiance to the papal ordinances, and continued to invest his prelates by the Ring and Crozier. Unwilling, however, to incur an open rupture, he sent other ambassadors to Paschall, who had returned to Rome; as well to effect a settlement of differences as to negotiate for his intended coronation.[45]

Expedition of Henry V. into Italy. 1110.

Being assured of the concurrence of the German princes, Henry V. resolved to proceed into Italy; and putting himself at the head of an army, com-

[45] Struvius, p. 343,—Schmidt, ub. sup.—Pfeffel, p. 230.

prising no less than thirty thousand men, crossed the Alps in August 1110. At Roncaglia he held the accustomed assembly, and received the submission of the Lombard cities and nobles, including the countess Matilda; and, taking up his quarters for the winter in Florence, he sent forward new ambassadors to provide for his reception in Rome. The near approach of the German troops worked considerable change in the disposition of Paschall; and a new proposal was made to the imperial emissaries, by which the rights of the Church were altogether compromised. The Pope undertook that the clergy of Germany and Italy should surrender up all fiefs, dutchies, counties, castles, vassals, imposts, and advocacies, which were held of the Emperors; together with all regalian rights lavished on the priesthood since the days of Charlemagne; in return for which, he called upon the King to renounce his claim to investiture; to leave the see of Rome in possession of its lands and property; and to guarantee to the Church all patrimonial demesnes, and the free enjoyment of tithes and voluntary presents and offerings. On this footing a treaty was concluded at Sutri; which being ratified by oaths on both sides, Henry soon afterwards entered Rome, and established himself in the Leonine city.[46]

It could scarcely be expected that the bishops and clergy should acquiesce in this extraordinary compact, by which so vast a portion of their wealth was at once to be swept away. Accordingly, when

[46] Struvius, p. 344.— Schmidt and Pfeffel, ub. sup.

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Henry appeared in St. Peter's to receive the crown, and demanded of the Pope the fulfilment of the treaty, a general refusal on the part of the clergy threw an insuperable obstacle in the way. In vain did Paschall exert his influence and eloquence; the bishops remained inexorable; and the King was equally determined to refuse complying with his part of the stipulations. The crown was therefore withheld; and Henry, enraged at his disappointment, seized upon the Pope and cardinals, and consigned them to safe custody. This violent act excited a general commotion among the Romans. The Germans who were found in the streets were attacked and murdered; and the quarters of the King were invaded by the citizens. Henry, having driven back the assailants with great slaughter, crossed the Tiber; and the siege of the city was already formed, when Paschall, alarmed by the disastrous state of affairs, submitted, after being two months a prisoner, to annul the treaty of Sutri. By a new compact, the canonical election of the bishops was to be free and unmolested; but before their consecration they were to be invested by the Emperor with the Ring and Crozier. All past offences on both sides were to be forgotten; and the Pope bound himself on no account to excommunicate the Cæsar. In the name of Paschall thirteen cardinals, and in the name of Henry thirteen princes, swore to observe this treaty; and on the following day the crown was bestowed with great solemnity. The Romans, being now recon-

Henry V. crowned Emperor. 1111.

ciled to the new Emperor, saluted him as Patrician of the city; and peace and order were for a short time restored. In his return to Germany, Henry, anxious to secure so potent an ally as the countess Matilda, sought an interview with her at Reggio: and even constituted her his vice-regent in Italy.[47]

No sooner were the cardinals delivered from the dread of the Emperor and his army, than they raised a bitter cry of reproach against the unhappy Paschall, whom they charged with the basest perfidy in sacrificing the interests of the Church by conceding to Henry the privilege of investiture. A Council assembled in the Lateran in the presence of the Pope; the decrees of Gregory and Urban were confirmed; and the loudest denunciations poured out against the sacrilegious hands which had presumed to violate the successor of St. Peter. But, as Paschall had solemnly sworn to abstain from excommunicating Henry, an ingenious device was resorted to; and the excommunication was thundered, not against the Emperor but, against the Bull of Paschall which recognized the imperial right of investiture. No such scruples, however, encumbered the consciences of the papal legates in foreign countries; and Guido, Archbishop of Vienne in France, proceeded to excommunicate the Emperor in person; an example which was quickly followed by other prelates.[48]

Henry V. excommunicated. 1112.

Though Henry might triumph in the success he

[47] Schmidt, p. 374.—Murat. Ann. 1111.

[48] Otto Frisingensis, apud Struvium, p. 346.—Schmidt, p. 375.

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had enjoyed in Rome, he found on his return to Germany the spirits of his subjects ripe for insurrection. During the late reign, the protracted civil wars had completely drained the imperial treasury; and, as the readiest means to repair the deficiency, the Emperor took occasion to seize on such fiefs as were left vacant by the death of crown-vassals without immediate heirs. The appropriation of these estates, in prejudice of those claiming kindred with the late possessor, stirred up bitter feelings of resentment; and provoked into the field Sigifrid, Count Palatine of the Rhine, who was surprised and slain by the imperial commander. But a more formidable and systematic conspiracy against the government of Henry was now organized among the clergy, who were not a little encouraged by the proceedings of the Lateran Council. Amongst those who had stimulated the Emperor to the rigours he inflicted on the Pope was Adalbert, Arch-Chancellor of Germany; who was rewarded on returning from Italy with the archbishopric of Mentz, and invested by Henry with the Ring and Crozier. But this man now stood forth at the head of the party which sought to depress the imperial authority, and establish the independence of the Church. The seizure and imprisonment of the archbishop, instead of suppressing these pretensions, encreased the zealous opposition of the German clergy; who summoned from Hungary the papal legate to enforce the doctrines of Rome, and impress the people with the highest notions of ec-

Rebellion in Germany. 1114.

clesiastical supremacy. Lothaire, Duke of Saxony, and many of the Saxon princes took up arms against the Emperor, whose forces suffered a severe defeat in the county of Mannsfeld.[49]

In this distracted state of Germany, a new cause of dissension arose between the Emperor and the Pope. The countess Matilda had twice in her lifetime bestowed the reversion of her estates upon the church of Rome; and at her death, which occurred in 1115, a formal bequest ratified the donation. These estates, together with her other domains, were immediately claimed by Henry as a vacant fief belonging to the Empire; and in order to make good his claim he marched into Italy, and seized upon the territory so lavishly bestowed on St. Peter. In a second visit to Rome, he caused himself, in the absence of Paschall, to be re-crowned; and on the death of that Pope and the election of Gelasius II. he re-entered the city, and set up a Pontiff of his own nomination. The miserable Gelasius was exposed to the lawless violence of the Romans, to the perils of the seas, and the miseries of exile; and died in France in the year after his election. To him succeeded Guido, bishop of Vienne, the resolute opponent of the Emperor, who assumed the title of Calixtus II.[50]

Death of the countess Matilda. 1115.

Gelasius II. 1118-1119. (Gregory VIII. Anti-pope.)

Calixtus II. 1119-1124.

Meanwhile the greatest disorders convulsed Germany. Whilst the secular and spiritual nobles were labouring to destroy the Emperor, they were

[49] Pfeffel, p. 237.—Schmidt, p. 378.

[50] Murat. Ann. 1116. 1119.—Giannone, Lib. X. c. VIII.—Schmidt, p. 382.

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at warfare with one another; and Henry's two nephews, Conrad, Duke of Franconia, and Frederic of Hohenstaufen, Duke of Swabia, alone remained hearty in his cause. Preparations were even made for enforcing his resignation of the crown; when finding matters desperate he quitted Italy, leaving behind him his young Empress, Matilda, daughter of Henry I. King of England, whom he had lately married. But his presence rather enhanced than diminished the confusion; and though some advance was made towards pacification, the resolute contumacy of the clergy made it manifest that the settlement of the question of investitures could alone produce the restoration of harmony. But this desirable object seemed more distant than ever; an attempt at a compromise between the Emperor and the Pope proved abortive; and Calixtus II. now widened the breach, by excommunicating Henry and his Antipope Gregory, in a Council solemnly convened at Rheims.[51]

Henry V. excommunicated. 1119.

As the Emperor mainly imputed the disaffection of the clergy to the archbishop Adalbert, he resolved to punish him in his own see; and made preparations for besieging Mentz. Adalbert on his part stirred up all Saxony in his defence; and both armies stood ready for the attack, when a spirit of conciliation infused itself into the hostile parties. Mutual concessions for the present pacified Germany; and in order to set at rest the great question, it was resolved to send messengers to the

[51] Schmidt, p. 385.—Art de vérif. tom. I. p. 187.

Pope, beseeching him to refer it to a general council. After some negotiation, Henry found Calixtus more placable than his other adversaries; and a compromise was soon effected. At a Diet held at Worms, the Emperor consented to renounce the investiture with the Ring and Crozier; the election and consecration of the bishops were restored to the clergy and people; and that of the abbots to the monks. The election of bishops was, however, to take place in the presence of the Emperor or his delegates; in case of a disputed or doubtful election, it was for him to pronounce between the candidates; and the elect was finally to be invested with the estates of his see by the imperial sceptre. By the Concordat of Calixtus the grand dispute was thus adjusted; and Henry having received absolution was again admitted into the bosom of the Church.[52]

Termination of the dispute about investitures. 1122.

Thus relieved from the Ban of the Pope, the Emperor once more addressed himself to his favourite project of recruiting his exhausted treasury; and incurred great odium by an attempt to levy a general tax upon the kingdom. The support which his spiritual enemies had received from France rankled in his bosom; and he vowed vengeance against the city of Rheims, whence Calixtus II. had thundered excommunication. But in the midst of his warlike preparations he was carried off by disease at Utrecht, whither he had gone to secure his authority in his northern dominions. With him terminated the dynasty of the House of Franconia; and, as he left

Death of Henry V. 1125.

[52] Dupin, vol. X. c. 2.—Schmidt, p. 389.

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no legitimate issue, his patrimonial estates descended to his nephews, Conrad, Duke of Franconia, and Frederic of Hohenstaufen, Duke of Swabia.[53]

Curtailment of the imperial prerogative;

The distraction which prevailed in Germany during the two last reigns had proved ruinous to the imperial power; and the nobles were every day increasing in importance and authority. The supreme government was gradually transferred from the Emperor to the Diets, in which the States ecclesiastical and temporal deliberated upon public measures. To the first class belonged the archbishops, bishops, and abbots; to the second, the dukes, princes, counts, and superior nobles; who together formed the great Germanic body. The inferior nobles and independent gentry appear, however, to have taken part in extraordinary deliberations: and in the election of the sovereign of the kingdom. The diets were convoked by the Emperor; or in his absence by the archbishop of Mentz, as primate and arch-chancellor of Germany; and the States were bound to attend, under pain of various forfeitures. Having met at the place appointed, the object of the consultation was at once proposed, and summarily decided on; so that the Diets were rarely of any long duration. Still, however, where the matter was too pressing to admit the delay of regularly summoning the States, the Emperor claimed the privilege of acting on his own decision, fortified by the advice of such dukes and princes as surrounded his person; and these great

[53] Struvius, p. 354.—Pfeffel, p. 240.

vassals availed themselves of this distinction to assume a more decided share in the government than the inferior nobility.[54]

But nothing contributed to the absolute power of the great vassals of the Empire more than the conversion of their fiefs into hereditary dominions; and the Emperors were gradually restricted from bestowing or restoring the imperial fiefs without the consent of the assembled States. The assumption and concession of some important powers gave to these fiefs the appearance of separate kingdoms. The dukes asserted their right to administer justice within their own limits; and resisted the imperial pretensions to pardon malefactors or remit forfeitures; and the forfeited estates became the property, not of the crown but, of the lord of the domain.[55] Even the subordinate nobles claimed hereditary succession; and the counts assumed the titles of the counties or districts in which they exercised their functions.[56]

And revenues.

The revenues enjoyed by the Emperor were gradually much straitened, and were distinguished into *fixed*, and *casual*. The first consisted of, 1. the imperial domain situated on the banks of the Rhine from Basle to Cologne; 2. the revenues of Italy, which was admitted to be the *Regnum proprium* of the Emperors; 3. the tribute payable by the Sclavonians and other conquered nations; 4. the product of mines and tolls not particularly ap-

[54] Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 260.

[55] Pfeffel, p. 257.

[56] Schmidt, Book V. c. 2. p. 439.—Pfeffel, p. 263.

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propriated to the princes; 5. the tax (no inconsiderable sum) extorted from the Jews; 6. the subsidies payable by the states and the clergy; 7. port-duties. The casual revenues were, 1. the forfeited property of criminals the immediate vassals of the crown; 2. imperial fiefs escheated for default of heirs; 3. wrecks; 4. new conquests.[57]

Summary of the rights of the Emperor;

On the whole, the respective rights of the Emperors and the States may be thus briefly defined.

The rights of the Emperor were, to convoke and preside at the Diets; to be independent master of Italy; to coin money; to administer justice in cases which concerned the kingdom at large; and to grant regalian privileges to the states, municipal immunities to the cities, and titles to the vassals of the Empire.

And of the States.

The rights of the States were exercised either in the Diets, or within their own limits. In the former, they elected, and might even depose, the Emperor. They enacted laws for the whole Germanic community; they made peace, war, and alliances, for the kingdom at large; and delegated ambassadors in the name of the Empire. They had a voice in the alienation of the imperial domain; they confirmed the Emperor's grants of the dutchies and great fiefs; they were the judges of their co-estates; and they regulated the operations of the public government. Within their own limits, they enjoyed the territorial supremacy; they judged their vassals; they made peace and war; they appointed their

[57] Pfeffel, p. 257.

own public functionaries; and exercised the regalian privileges conferred by the Emperor, such as coining, opening mines, establishing fairs, and receiving tolls and imposts.[58]

Anarchy of Germany.

This fair shew of definition in the respective branches of the Germanic body was perpetually defeated by the quarrels of the States with the Emperor and with one another. But even had no interruption taken place in this arrangement, it is impossible to conceive a form of government worse calculated to ensure the public happiness and prosperity. The nominal head of the monarchy could have but little stimulus to promote the general good, whilst the mass of his people were entirely strangers to him, and under the controul of a powerful and dangerous nobility. Instead of one great spirit actuating the motions of the community, every province, subjected to a different master, was governed by a line of policy often directly opposite to that of its neighbour; and the several interests of the Empire seemed essentially opposed to each other. But when, added to this constitutional infirmity, we find the nation perpetually filled with rebellion against the sovereign and convulsed by civil wars amongst the States, it is not very difficult to estimate the miserable condition of the people at large. Their benefit, indeed, seems scarcely to have entered the thoughts of the legislative powers; and the laws, which were easily evaded by the nobles, lay as a burthen upon the more lowly in-

[58] Pfeffel, p. 270.

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dividuals. The higher nobility, instead of being an ornament to society, were a rapacious and turbulent body, sacrificing the interests of the nation to their own aggrandisement, laying waste the territories of their neighbours, and grinding their own subjects by intolerable extortions. The inferior nobles were a still greater scourge to the country. Their strong castles were no better than dens of thieves; and by the scandalous trade of public robbery, ecclesiastical, as well as secular, lords were perpetually acquiring treasure, which they wasted in riot and debauchery. The different classes of society seemed contrived only as a system of graduated oppression; until at length the miserable slaves and cultivators of the soil became the last victims in the scale. That such a form of government should have been suffered to exist for a single century might be almost incredible, did we not remember the abject state of ignorance in which by far the greater portion of the people were involved. They appear to have submitted without a struggle to the rapacity of their superiors; nor was it till the growth of the German cities had introduced a new order of men, that the lower classes began to understand they were more than one degree exalted above the beasts that perish.[59]

[59] For the Genealogy of the imperial houses of Saxony and Franconia, see Appendix, Tables VII. and VIII.

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REIGN OF LOTHAIRE II. SOVEREIGNS OF THE HOUSE OF SWABIA. CONRAD III. FREDERIC I.

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Election of Lothaire II. 1125.

Upon the death of Henry, the princes of Germany assembled at Mentz for the purpose of choosing his successor. The archbishops, bishops, and abbots, with the other church dignitaries, the dukes, the margraves, and counts, with the subordinate nobility and their vassals, swelled the meeting; which, according to the historians, amounted to sixty-thousand persons, ranged under their respective banners, and divided into six brigades. A committee of ten princes was named by the States to exercise the right of *Prætaxation*, by proposing to the general assembly the candidates whom they deemed most worthy the imperial crown. Four distinguished princes were nominated by this committee; Leopold III. Margrave of Austria, who had married the late Emperor's sister; Frederic II. of Hohenstaufen, Duke of Swabia; Lothaire, Duke of Saxony; and Charles, surnamed the Good, Count of Flanders. The choice of the assembly would most probably have fallen upon Frederic, but for the influence of Adalbert, Archbishop of Mentz; who, taking advantage of the absence of that prince and of

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Henry VII. Duke of Bavaria, contrived to induce the lower nobility to nominate the Duke of Saxony. In vain did the bishops of Bavaria protest against this election, and insist that no such proceeding could be valid unless sanctioned by the presence of their duke. Adalbert, supported by the legate of Pope Honorius II., succeeded in his endeavours; and the Duke of Bavaria being gained over to his cause, Lothaire was unanimously chosen the sovereign of Germany and crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. The farther to secure his crown, he sent ambassadors to Rome to notify his election to the Pope; and from this time the see of Rome took occasion to require from the successors of Lothaire a similar notification as an act of indispensable duty.[1]

In order to strengthen himself in Germany, Lothaire bestowed the hand of Gertrude, his only daughter, and heiress of Saxony, on Henry VIII.

[1] Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 243.—I have been thus minute in stating the particulars of this assembly, because it has been asserted by some writers that the electoral College existed as early as the reign of Otho III., although it was not then restricted to *seven* electors See Struvius, p. 511.—Giannone, Lib. VIII. c. 5.—Mur. Ann. 1024.—Macchiavelli, Ist Fior. Lib. I.—Giovanni Villani, indeed, is positive that the restriction of the elective right to seven was prior to Otho III. and names them in Book IV. c. 3. of his History; 1. The Archbishop of Mentz, Chancellor of Germany; 2. Archbishop of Treves, Chancellor of France; 3. Archbishop of Cologne, Chancellor of Italy; 4. Marquis of Brandenburg, Chamberlain; 5. Duke of Saxony, Sword-bearer; 6. Count Palatine of the Rhine, Steward; 7. King of Bohemia, Cup-bearer. —But though the election, was, in truth, afterwards vested in these seven princes, it was not so as late as the year 1237.—(Murat. Ann. in ann.). Muratori (Ann. 1024.) is careful to note that the princes of *Italy* were invited to the election of Conrad II.; and (Ann. 1152) that Frederic I. was elected by *all* the nobles of Germany, and certain Barons of Italy; and according to Pfeffel (tom. I. p. 294), the Prince Electors are first mentioned in the reign of Frederic.

Duke of Bavaria; and by this union of the two great dutchies, the new King placed himself in a position to repel the hostile efforts of the house of Hohenstaufen. Meanwhile the Duke of Swabia summoned his brother Conrad, Duke of Franconia, from Palestine, and a vigorous warfare was commenced in Germany. After some partial successes, Frederic seems to have yielded in favour of his younger brother; for Conrad advancing into Lombardy took possession of that country, assumed the title of King of Lombardy, and caused himself to be crowned at Monza by the archbishop of Milan.[2] He was not long suffered to possess his new kingdom. Italy was at this time too much disordered quietly to submit to a sovereign. The holy see presented a lamentable scene of discord. Honorius II., the successor of Calixtus II., died in 1130: and his death was followed by the double election of Gregory, Cardinal of St. Angelo (Innocent II.), and, Peter, the son of Leo the Jew, who took the name of Anacletus II. Innocent, though supported by the powerful family of Frangipani,[3] was compelled to seek refuge in France; and Anacletus, finding his rival recognized by Lothaire, entered into an alliance with Roger II. Duke of Apulia and Count of Sicily. That victorious prince became possessed of the island on the death of his father Roger I.;[4] and on the death of his cousin William,

War between Lothaire and Conrad. 1127.

Conrad crowned King of Italy. 1128.

Honorius II. 1124–1130.

Innocent II. 1130–1143. (Anacletus II. Antipope.)

Roger, King of Sicily. 1130–1154.

[2] Struvius, p. 359.—Schmidt, Book VI. c. 1. vol. II. p. 543.

[3] For this illustrious Family, see Murat. Antiq. Ital. Dissert. XLII; and Bayle's Dictionary, ad verbum.

Roger I. was invested with Sicily, under the title of Count, by his

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grandson of Robert Guiscard, in 1127 took possession of the Dutchy of Apulia. On him Anacletus bestowed the title of *King* of Sicily, with a grant of Apulia and Calabria; and by a stretch of power he added the principality of Capua and the dutchy of Naples, although the former still belonged to Robert II. Count of Aversa, and the latter continued to maintain itself as a republic under the nominal sovereignty of the eastern Empire.[5]

Lothaire invades Italy; 1132.

The successes of Conrad in the north, and of Roger in the south, of Italy, determined Lothaire upon an expedition across the Alps, accompanied by Pope Innocent II. At his approach Conrad hastily retired, and Lothaire reached Rome with but little opposition. But the Antipope Anacletus still continued master of the principal part of the city including the Vatican; the Lateran was therefore fixed upon for the ceremony of the coronation. On this occasion, the dispute concerning the estates of the countess Matilda was adjusted by a compromise; and the suzerain right of the Pope being conceded, Innocent invested the Emperor with these extensive territories, at the moderate yearly return of a hundred marks of silver, the reversion being reserved to his son-in-law, Henry VIII. Duke of Bavaria and Saxony. Lothaire immediately returned to Germany, and had shortly afterwards

And is crowned Emperor 1133.

brother Robert Guiscard. Giann. Lib. X. c. 1.–4. He was afterwards created papal legate in Sicily by Urban II. See the Bull in Mariana, Lib. X. c. V. Robert died in 1085, and was succeeded by his son Roger in the Dutchy of Apulia; and Roger II. dying in 1111 was succeeded by his son William.

[5] Giann. Lib. XI. s. 1.—Denina, Lib. X. c. X.—Gibbon, vol. X. p. 308.

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the satisfaction to receive the submission of the Dukes Frederic and Conrad.[6]

Conrad submits. 1135.

Meanwhile the war was vigorously prosecuted in the south of Italy. Roger, King of Sicily, in alliance with the Antipope, was making daily progress; whilst the Pisans, zealous in the cause of Innocent, sent their gallies to the relief of the beleaguered cities. By them Amalfi was surprized and taken; and it has been pretended that upon this occasion[7] the only extant copy of the Pandects of Justinian was discovered, and the civil law thus restored to Europe.

Second expedition of Lothaire into Italy. 1136.

Lothaire listened to the cries of the Pope and undertook a second expedition into Italy, resolved upon the overthrow of Anacletus and his ally the King of Sicily. Accompanied by his former rival Conrad and a numerous train of princes and prelates, the Emperor led his army across the Alps; and having without difficulty silenced his enemies in the north advanced into Apulia, where he was joined by the forces of his son-in-law, Henry, Duke of Bavaria.

Roger expelled from Italy. 1137.

The overwhelming number of the imperial army soon reduced Roger to the last extremity; and Salerno was the only city of which he retained

[6] Murat. Ann. 1133.—Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 249.—Schmidt, p. 551.

[7] Amalfi was a second time besieged by the Pisans in 1137, to which year Giannone refers the discovery of the Pandects; not indeed the *only copy* extant, since he admits that portions of the Roman Law had previously made part of the papal Decretals, a circumstance which has been used for exploding this pretended discovery. Giannone, Lib. XI. c. II. and Pfeffel, p. 250. The question is fully handled by Tiraboschi, Storia della Let. Ital. Lib. IV. c. VII. s. 5. &c. Gibbon, in his very brief notice of the reign of Frederic I., speaks of "the recent *discovery* of the Pandects." Vol. IX. p. 207.

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possession in Italy. The siege of Salerno was formed by Lothaire and Pope Innocent; and by the assistance of Robert II. Prince of Capua, Sergius VII. Duke of Naples, the Pisans, and the Genoese, they quickly compelled that city to surrender; and thus stripped the King of Sicily of all his Italian dominions.

The Emperor and Pope now determined to create a new duke of Apulia, and at once agreed in the nomination of Rainolph, Count of Avellana. But here a new difficulty arose; for both Pope and Emperor claimed dominion of Apulia, and the consequent right to invest the new duke. For thirty days this important question was hotly debated; at length, a compromise was effected, and they agreed each to hold one end of the standard by which their vassal was to be invested; a miserable evasion! indicative of their mutual consciousness of the rottenness of their respective claims. But this unfortunate difference appears to have alienated Lothaire from the cause of Innocent, since he departed from Rome leaving Anacletus still in possession of a portion of that city.[8] Having reached Trent the Emperor was attacked by disease, which was increased by his persevering in his journey; and he died at the little village of Lermos in the Tyrol at the close of the year 1137.[9]

Lothaire quits Italy;

And dies.

[8] According to the Saxon Annalist, apud Schmidt, vol. II. p. 556, the Germans, finding the ill-effects of the Italian climate, formed a conspiracy to murder the Pope and his cardinals, as the cause of their detention in Apulia.

[9] Mur. Ann.—Denina, Lib. X. c. XI.—Gian. Lib. XI. c. I. s. 1.—Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 252.

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Sovereigns of the House of Swabia.

Conrad III. King of Germany. 1138.

After the death of Lothaire, the *Empire* remained vacant for more than seventeen years; for Conrad of Hohenstaufen, the new King of Germany never received the imperial crown. When the States assembled early in 1138 for the election of a new sovereign two candidates presented themselves; Conrad, Duke of Franconia, who had formerly been the rival of the late Emperor; and Henry Guelph, surnamed the Proud, Duke of Bavaria, whose family enjoyed the highest consideration from a very remote period. On the failure of the male line by the death of Guelph V. Duke of Carinthia, in 1055, the family was represented by his sister Cunegund, whose marriage with Azzo II. Marquis of Este gave birth to a line of princes destined long afterwards to fill the British throne. Guelph VI., the immediate offspring of that union, enjoyed the favour of the Emperor Henry IV., and received from him in 1071 the dutchy of Bavaria, which descended to his eldest son Guelph VII, the second husband of the famous countess Matilda. Upon his death without issue, his brother Henry VII., surnamed the Black, became Duke of Bavaria; and dying in 1126 left three sons, Henry (surnamed the Proud), Guelph VIII., and Conrad, and four daughters, one of whom, Judith, married Frederic II. Duke of Swabia. Of the sons, Henry and Guelph alone deserve attention; for Conrad renounced the world and ended his days in a cloister. But Henry exalted the family to a higher degree of splendour than it had hitherto enjoyed.

The Guelph family.

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Already possessed of the dutchy of Bavaria, which included that of Carinthia, and married to Gertrude, daughter of Lothaire, Duke of Saxony, he obtained from his father-in-law, then newly elected
1126. Emperor, the grant of that dutchy. These extensive possessions were afterwards augmented by the reversion of the estates of Matilda, to which by the grant of Pope Innocent II. he was declared en-
1133. titled on the death of Lothaire.[10] But this vast accumulation of territory naturally excited the jealousy of the German nobles; and, as they dreaded the proud and despotic nature of Henry, they precipitately concluded the election, and called Conrad to fill the throne. To the new sovereign Henry was hateful for the support which he had formerly given to Lothaire; and no sooner had Conrad obtained the crown than Henry was marked for destruction. He was put under the Ban of the Empire; his dutchies were declared forfeited; Bavaria was bestowed upon Leopold IV. Margrave of Austria; and Saxony on Albert, Margrave of Brandenburg. The loyalty, however, of his Saxon subjects enabled Henry to maintain that dutchy until his death, which took place in 1139; and his brother Guelph continued to assert the right of his family to Bavaria. In defence of his castle of Weinsberg in Swabia, Guelph encountered Conrad in a bloody battle; and here the cry of Guelph and Ghibellin (afterwards so famous in Italy) was for the first time raised. His own name was the

[10] Mur. Ann. 1126. 1133.—Ante, p. 193. See Appendix, Table XII.

war-cry of the soldiers of *Guelph;* whilst the royal troops adopted that of *Waiblingen,* a little village in Wurtemberg, and part of the patrimonial estates of Conrad; and from that time these names were respectively assumed by the adherents of the Duke and the King.[11]

Origin of Guelphs and Ghibellins. 1140.

By Gertrude, daughter of Lothaire, Henry the Proud left a son named Henry, and distinguished by the appellation of the Lion. To him Conrad restored the dutchy of Saxony: but upon the death of Leopold of Austria, Bavaria was granted to his brother Henry; and the widow of Henry the Proud was induced to become the wife of the new duke. This amicable adjustment was but little regarded by the elder Guelph, who resolutely continued to dispute the Bavarian territory until the year 1146; when superstition prevailed upon him to accompany his sovereign to Palestine, upon the occasion of the second Crusade.

1142.

Hitherto the Crusades have formed no important feature in the imperial history. The German nobles, with few exceptions, remained uninfected by the contagion which so forcibly seized on other nations of Europe; and though, during the first expedition to Palestine, the exhortations of the monks Godschalk and Folkmar had drawn together a crowd of

[11] Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 276.—Struvius, p. 370. The origin of these factions is mistakenly attributed to an earlier period (the quarrel of Henry IV. and Gregory VII) by Machiavelli, who probably misled Dr. Robertson into the same error. Charles V. vol. I. s. 3. p. 177. 4to. To this siege of Weinsberg belongs the touching story related by Heiss, liv. II. c. 12; but better known to the English reader by the pleasant No. 499. of the "Spectator."

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needy peasants and lawless brigands from the villages and mountains of Germany, the distracted state of the Empire, at the close of the eleventh century, too greatly engrossed the princes to permit their joining in the enterprize.[12] But at the period when St. Bernard raised his voice to excite the European powers to a second crusade, Germany enjoyed a comparative degree of tranquillity; and Conrad, now secure in the throne, was intent on an expedition into Italy, for the double purpose of receiving the imperial crown and curbing the growing power of Roger, King of Sicily. The appearance of the Abbot of Clairvaux in the Diet of Spires entirely altered his views; and Conrad, with many of his nobles, born away by the irresistible eloquence of the monk, received the Cross from his hand. The affairs of the Empire were at once forgotten; and the Diet became suddenly inspired with sympathy for their Christian brethren in Asia. The discourses and letters of Bernard prevailed not with bishops and nobles only; the common multitude were seized with uncontrollable transports of enthusiam; and an unanimous cry for the sacred expedition resounded from the Rhine to the Danube.[13]

Conrad joins the second Crusade. 1147.

Before his departure, Conrad succeeded in obtaining the election of his eldest son Henry as his successor in the kingdom; and, leaving the government in the hands of that promising prince, de-

Henry elected King of Germany.

[12] Michaud, Hist. des Croisades, tom. I. p. 138.—Gibbon, vol. XI. p. 25.—Schmidt, Book V. chap. VI.

[13] Michaud, tom. II. p. 131.—Schmidt, vol. II. p. 569.

parted for the east with an enormous host. Though his reception at Constantinople by the Emperor Manuel Comnenus was marked by professions of friendship, the progress of the Germans was involved in a complication of difficulties by the machinations of the treacherous Greek. Conrad imprudently hurried forward without waiting for Louis VII. King of France, who had zealously embraced the Cross; and amidst the mountains of Cappadocia the German troops were surprized and cut to pieces by the Turks. Conrad himself narrowly escaped destruction, having been pierced by two arrows; and in this deplorable condition he retreated to Constantinople. Unwilling to lose the benefits of visiting the Holy Sepulchre he embarked for Palestine; and entered Jerusalem as a pilgrim instead of a conqueror. Here he united his shattered forces with those of Louis; and before the walls of Damascus the German monarch distinguished his valour and prowess. But the energies and numbers of the Crusaders were exhausted by the obstinacy of the Moslems; the siege of Damascus was abandoned; and Conrad withdrew by sea from the scene of his disasters, after the entire ruin of his army.[14]

The return of Conrad to Germany renewed the strife with his ancient enemy Guelph of Bavaria, which terminated in the total defeat of the latter; and the King, having at length silenced his enemy, prepared to march into Italy and claim the imperial 1149.

[14] Michaud, tom. II. p. 188.—Pfeffel, p. 281.

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crown.[15] At the moment of his intended expedition, he was plunged into affliction by the death of his eldest son Henry; and was himself not long afterwards warned by disease of his approaching end. The last act of the expiring monarch evinced his disinterested love of his country; and in his dying moments he preferred recommending his nephew before his own son, with a view of tranquillizing the disturbed state of Germany. Frederic III. of Hohenstaufen, Duke of Swabia, whom Conrad pointed out to the choice of the princes, had the blood both of Guelph and Ghibellin flowing in his veins. As the son of Judith, the daughter of Henry the Black, he was a Guelf; as the grandson of Agnes, sister of Henry V. he was a Ghibellin. In hopes of neutralizing the rival factions, Conrad with his expiring words enjoined the electors to choose the young Frederick; and calmly met his death in the fifty-eighth year of his age and fourteenth of his reign.[16]

Death of Conrad III. 1152.

Election of Frederic I. 4th March. 1152.

The assembled States of Germany appreciated the recommendation of the dying Conrad; at Frankfort the young Duke of Swabia was unanimously elected King and future Emperor; and was soon afterwards invested, at Aix-la-Chapelle by the archbishop of Cologne, with the crown, the globe, and the sceptre, the ancient ensigns of imperial dignity.[17]

The personal qualities of the new sovereign (whose red beard obtained him the name of Barbarossa) raised the highest expectations; and the

[15] Pfeffel, tom. I. 283. [16] Murat. Ann. 1152. [17] Struvius, p. 378.

dissensions of Denmark enabled him to open his reign with an important accession of authority. That kingdom, which since the days of the great Otho had been tributary to the Empire, but whose monarchs perpetually evinced their disposition to throw off the burthen, was, when Frederic ascended the German throne, warmly contested by two competitors. On the abdication of Eric III. in 1147, the greater portion of the Danish States elected, as their King, Sueno (called also Peter), the natural son of Eric-Emund, the predecessor of the late monarch: whilst an opposite faction declared in favour of Canute, grandson of Nicholas, who had preceded Eric-Emund. After repeated conflicts, the rival princes consented to refer their claims to Frederic I.; and both appeared before him in his first Diet at Merseburg in Saxony. By his decision Canute was invested with a considerable portion of territory, but without the royal title. The kingdom was awarded to Sueno, who did homage and swore fealty for the crown he received from the hand of Frederic; and in farther token of his vassalage carried the sword of Charlemagne before the German monarch. A new Danish dutchy was at the same time erected in favour of Waldemar, son of Canute, King of the Abodrites.[18]

Sueno, King of Denmark, does homage to Frederic I. 1152.

In the same year, Frederic was called upon to

[18] Otto Frisingensis, apud Struvium, p. 379.—Schmidt, vol. II. p. 579.—Pfeffel (p. 288) calls Waldemar a competitor with Sueno and Canute for the crown. But though Waldemar became King of Denmark after the death of Sueno in 1157, he does not appear to have originally contested it with him. Art. de vérif. tom. II. p. 87.

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exercise his authority in ecclesiastical, as well as secular, disputes. On the death of the archbishop of Magdeburg, two competitors, the Provost and Dean of the see, divided the voices of the episcopal electors; and in virtue of the Concordat of Calixtus II. the King claimed the right of interposing in the nomination. After in vain attempting a compromise, he prevailed on the partizans of the Dean to elect his own nominee, Wichmann Bishop of Zeitz; and accordingly invested him by the sceptre with the temporalities of the archbishopric. Against this proceeding the disappointed Provost appealed to Rome; and found Eugenius III. ready to resist the interference of Frederic. But the death of that Pope at this moment placed Anastasius IV. in the pontifical chair; who after some hesitation yielded to the claim of the King; and in Rome conferred the Pallium upon the new archbishop.[19]

Election of Wichmann to the archbishopric of Magdeburg.

1153.

Frederic now addressed himself to the great object to which he stood pledged;—the extinguishment of the existing enmity between the two parties, to each of whom he was so nearly allied. He, therefore, resolved to settle the rival claims of Henry the Lion, and Henry of Austria, to the dutchy of Bavaria; and after entering at large into their respective pretensions, succeeded in bringing the matter to an amicable conclusion. The dutchy of Bavaria was restored to the Guelphic Lion, curtailed, however, of the march of Austria; which was retained by the Margrave Henry, and afterwards, in 1156,

[19] Struvius, p. 380.—Schmidt, p. 580.

erected into a dukedom;[20]—And in order to propitiate Guelph, the uncle of the Lion, Frederic invested him with the march of Tuscany, the dutchy of Spoleto, the principality of Sardinia, and the allodial possessions of the countess Matilda. Thus the power of the Guelphs was once more fully established; whilst in addition to his paternal dutchies of Saxony and Bavaria, Henry the Lion inherited from his mother, Gertrude (daughter of Richenza,[21] descended from Henry, Duke of Bavaria, the brother of Otho the Great) the states of Brunswick, Lunenburg, and Hanover.[22]

Affairs of the Popedom. 1138-1154.

The attention of Frederic was next directed to Italy, where faction and oppression called loudly for his presence. In vain had Gregory VII. trampled on the pride of kings and exalted the see of Rome to the loftiest pitch of human grandeur. The see was itself divided by internal contention; and the convulsions which had distracted Italy in the days of Lothaire continued throughout the reign of Conrad. The Antipope Anacletus, indeed, survived Lothaire only a few days; but a new Antipope, Victor IV., was elected by the intrigues of Roger, King of Sicily; and though the remonstrances of St. Bernard induced him to lay down his mischievous dignity, all hopes of peace seemed extinct by the return of Roger to Italy with a numerous army, at the very moment when

[20] See Appendix, Tables XIV. XV. [21] Married to Lothaire II. Emp.

[22] Mur. Ann. 1126. 1153.—Gibbon, Antiq. of the House of Brunswick, Misc. Works, vol. III. p. 534. 556.

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the death of Rainolph, Duke of Apulia, promised him the repossession of his lost territory. Alarmed at his rapid conquests Pope Innocent II. attempted to negociate a peace; but the Sicilian refused to accede to one of Innocent's terms, the relinquishment of the principality of Capua; and the Pope himself took the field and vainly attempted the reduction of his enemy. After an abortive attempt to capture the castle of Galluccio, Innocent was surprised by the troops of Roger, and carried prisoner to the camp of the Norman. The courteous conduct of the sons of Tancred to their prisoner Leo. IX. was now imitated by the King; the captive Pontiff was permitted to purchase his liberty by conceding the investiture of the kingdom of Sicily, the dutchy of Apulia, and the principality of Capua, to be held by Roger as the vassal of the holy see: and in return for this extensive territory the city of Benevento was surrendered to Innocent.[23]

Innocent II. made prisoner. 1139.

Innocent returned to Rome only to experience new vexation. Arnold of Brescia was now busied in scattering his heretical doctrines; and the giddy Romans eagerly listened to his exhortations for the re-establishment of the ancient Republic. The rebellion of the city of Tivoli completed the perplexity of the Pope; and though that city was besieged and reduced by Innocent, the easy terms he ex-

Disorders in Rome.

[23] Giannone, Lib. XI. c. III. who refutes the assertion that this investiture included Naples, though the Neapolitans surrendered their dutchy to Roger in the same year. Ibid. s. 1.

acted on its surrender exasperated the Romans; and renouncing the papal authority they tumultuously assembled in the Capitol, and proceeded to establish a Senate.[24] Restoration of the Senate. 1143.

Upon the death of Innocent, which immediately followed this revolution, he was succeeded by Celestine II. who reigned but a few months; and Lucius II. was raised to the chair only to be a victim of the over-excited people. In a vain effort to surprise the Senate in the Capitol, the Pope and his adherents were repulsed by the Romans, and Lucius himself received a mortal wound in the encounter. The reign of his successor Eugenius III. was harassed by the followers of Arnold; and, after being twice compelled to fly from Rome, he at length purchased peace by consenting to acknowledge the authority of the modern Senate.[25] Celestine II. 1143-1144. Lucius II. 1144-1145. Eugenius III. 1145-1153. 1152.

Though the imperial sway was thus menaced in Italy by the growing power of Roger and the restoration of the Roman Republic, Conrad had preferred following the holy war in Palestine to asserting his authority in that territory emphatically denominated the Emperor's *own Domain.* But the successor of Conrad, finding Germany in profound tranquillity, resolved to visit Rome; and despatched ambassadors to secure his coronation by Eugenius. His presence in Italy had become the more necessary by the disturbed state of Lombardy, the cities

[24] The restoration of the Senate is related with becoming pomp by Gibbon, vol. XII. p. 274.

[25] Murat. Ann. 1152.—Gibbon, vol. XII. p. 271-276.

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of which had lately manifested a spirit of independence altogether at variance with their allegiance to the Empire. Having received a favourable answer from the Pope, Frederic immediately made preparations for his expedition; and set out at the head of a numerous army in the third year of his reign. But as the affairs of Italy from this period become a prominent feature in the history of the Empire, we may conveniently anticipate the arrival of Frederic, by a summary view of the Italian states from an early period to the middle of the twelfth century.

CHAPTER IX.

STATE OF ITALY IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

In the tenth century Italy was divided into four dynasties; Lombardy, the Republic of Venice, the Patrimony of St. Peter, and that portion of the south which corresponds with the modern kingdom of Naples. Of these, the first was the immediate territory of the Western Empire; whilst Venice steered a middle course between the two Empires. The Pope was the independent lord of the Patrimony; and the greater part of the south owed obedience to the Greek Emperor.

I. Lombardy.

I. Under the ancient Republic, a line drawn from the mouth of the river Macra, through the ridges of the Apennines to the mouth of the Rubicon, would have separated Etruria and Umbria from Cisalpine Gaul. But under Augustus the name of Gaul was effaced from the map of Italy, and the Alps became the northern boundary. To the west, the Maritime, the Cottian, and the Graian, Alps formed a barrier against the Gauls; whilst the long defiles of the Pennine, the Rhætian, and the Julian, mountains wound along the north to the shores of the Adriatic. This original settlement of the Lombards, together with the dutchies of Spoleto and

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Tuscany, constituted, in the tenth century the *Kingdom* of Italy or Lombardy.[1] The great dutchy of Benevento could no longer be accounted a fief of the Empire; and the dutchy of Friuli ceased to exist when its Duke Berenger was exalted to the Italian throne.[2] The northern division of the kingdom was governed by marquisses; of whom, those of Liguria, Susa, Ivrea, Montferrat, Trent, and Modena were the most conspicuous. The dutchy of Spoleto, which had been divided on the creation of the march of Camerino, was again united about 900 under the Marquis and Duke Alberic.[3] Tuscany, which under the Lombards had been portioned out between a multitude of dukes,[4] was subjected by Charlemagne and his successors to a single ruler. The successors of Boniface, the first Duke or Marquis (for both titles are used indifferently), continued to govern this rich province, and acted a conspicuous part in the history of Italy. Under these great potentates, the petty nobles and landholders residing on their domains, exercised a jurisdiction over their dependents, the nominal freemen who cultivated their Lords' estates, the Serfs who were attached to the soil itself, and the Slaves whose service was at the absolute disposal of

[1] The Kingdom of the Lombards is accurately defined by Gibbon, vol. VIII. p. 147.

[2] Art de vérif. tom. III. p. 768.

[3] Art de vérif. tom. III. p. 769.—Murat. Ann. 872. The march of Camerino changed its name to that of Fermo and afterwards of Ancona. ibid. Ann. 887.

[4] Murat. Ann. 774.

their master.[5] The cities were governed by their counts or bishops, and were gradually rising into that importance which they afterwards so remarkably maintained in defiance of the pretensions and arms of the Emperors. From time immemorial they had enjoyed a species of municipal independence;[6] and in the north their neglected and dismantled walls had been restored and augmented since the first appearance of the Hungarians in Italy.[7] Pavia, the ancient capital of the Lombards, had still maintained its pre-eminence, though, under the first Berenger, Verona had been selected as the royal residence. In Tuscany, Lucca must be regarded as the principal city; since to her Charlemagne imparted the uncommon privilege of coining.[8]

But about the twelfth century the name of *Lombardy*, which once represented the whole *kingdom*, was used to signify the northern region, nearly corresponding with the ancient *Cisalpine Gaul*. Some deduction must, indeed, be made in the east for the claims of the Church, and the line of demarcation must be shifted from the Rubicon to

[5] Sismondi. Repub. Ital. tom. I. p. 78.

[6] Gibbon, vol. IX. p. 205.—Giannone, Lib. I. c. 1.—Murat. Ant. Ital. Diss. XVIII.

[7] Sismondi, ub. sup. p. 370. For the erection of *new* fortifications they were obliged to obtain the royal charter. Murat. Antiq. Ital. Diss. XXVI.

[8] Murat. Ann. 828. and Antiq. Ital. Diss. V. The right to coin money was highly prized in the middle ages as a badge of independence. During the thirteenth century, the Lucchese, by way of asserting their independence of Pisa, went and coined money at the gates of that city. Murat. Ann. 1269. Muratori (Antiq. Ital. Dissert. XXVII.) has fully shewn the progress of coining in Italy.

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The cities of Lombardy,

Ferrara. In this district the dissensions between the Emperor and Pope, and the continued absence of Conrad from Italy, greatly favoured the assumptions of the several cities. But what most materially contributed to weaken the imperial authority was the expedient they adopted of inviting or compelling the marquisses and rural nobility to incorporate themselves in the civic body; and to exchange their residence in the open country for a more secure dwelling within the city walls. By degrees, therefore, the dignity of these nobles was merged in the growing importance of the city; and in the twelfth century the Marquis of Montferrat is cited as an almost singular instance of an independent noble.[9]

They become Republics.

Of all the Lombard cities, Milan and Pavia claimed at this time the greatest distinction. We have already seen the enmity of these rival cities in the contest between Ardoin and Henry II.; and their open defiance of the imperial authority in the reign of Conrad II. In the year 1107 Milan took the hardy resolution to erect herself into a Republic. Under the sanction of their archbishop, the citizens created two *Consuls*,[10] who were invested with the

[9] Quasi l'unico che si fosse *salvato* dall' imperio delle Città. Mur. Ann. 1154.

[10] Besides these consuls, many cities created *mercantile* consuls (i consoli de' mercatanti), whose province it was to adjudicate in matters of commerce, to punish offenders against the trade, and to open communication with foreign powers. These consuls existed in Modena, Ferrara, and Lucca as early as the twelfth century. Murat. Antiq. Ital. Diss. XXX. where is abundant proof of the flourishing state of Italian commerce at a very early period.

supreme authority; whilst a general council of the nobles and people was charged with the election of the consuls, the enactment of laws, the declaration of war and peace, and the delegation of ambassadors. Out of this general council, a select body composed a council of *Faith* (credenza), to which the internal secrets of the government were entrusted. This example was immediately followed by Lodi, Cremona, Verona, Genoa, and other cities; and even Pavia condescended to imitate the new constitution of Milan. But though they were thus laying the foundation of their independence they still affected to respect the imperial supremacy; and deprecated the wrath of the Emperor by a nominal submission.[11]

Their private warfare.

No sooner had these cities achieved this independent government, than their energies were directed to their mutual subjugation. That liberty, which they prized for themselves, they wantonly denied to others; and appeared to value their freedom in proportion as it strengthened their destrutive properties. Milan in the insolence of her emancipation resolved on the subversion of her weaker neighbours; and the towns of Lodi and Como were destroyed with wanton cruelty, the inhabitants being scattered over the face of the country.[12] The pride of Milan was, however, checked by the victorious arms of Cremona and Pavia:[13] but her strength still continued unbroken;

Milan.

Cremona.

Pavia.

[11] Murat. Ann. 1107.—Gian. Lib. V. c. III.

[12] Mur. Ann. 1111. 1127.

[13] Mur. Ann. 1136. 1139. 1150.

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and, at the moment of Frederic's descent into Italy, she stood in fierce array against her ancient rival. After a bloody battle, in which victory long continued doubtful, her troops were defeated with enormous slaughter; and a precipitate flight abandoned the tents and arms of the vanquished to the survivors of the Pavian army.[14] Nor were these the only wars which agitated the north of Italy: Verona and Padua engaged in mortal conflict;[15] and Modena was severely chastised for an aggression upon Bologna.[16]

Verona.

Padua.

Modena.

Such were the growing Republics of Lombardy, accursed with all the frowardness of infancy. Genoa, however, deserves more respectful mention. Seated on the Ligurian coast and enjoying the advantages of a spacious harbour, she was early distinguished for her still-increasing Navy, and by her commercial intercourse with foreign states. The lofty ridges of the Apennines seemed to prohibit her mingling in the strife of the Lombard cities: her ships ranged the Mediterranean, and poured into her coffers the honourable results of her trade. Her martial energies were directed against the encroaching Saracens; and the valour of her sons secured her the respect of Europe in the heroic madness of the Crusades.[17]

Genoa.

II. Whilst the Lombard Republics in the north were engaged on their individual liberty and mutual

II. Tuscany.

[14] Mur. Ann. 1154. [15] Mur. Ann. 1141. [16] Mur. Ann. 1142.

[17] Gibbon, c. LVIII. LIX. In 1115 the Genoese assisted Raymond, Count of Barcelona, to invade Majorca (Mariana, Lib. X. c. 9); and in 1147 joined the Spaniards in the siege of Almeria. (ibid. c. 18).—In 1139 Genoa obtained from Conrad III. the privilege of coining. Mur. ad ann.

subjugation, the more southern district, nearly corresponding with the modern Tuscany, presented a scene of no less confusion. The Tuscan cities appear to have adopted the consular form of government; and even ventured to expel the imperial marquis,[18] a circumstance which had drawn down upon them the wrath of the Emperor Lothaire, who repressed, though he could not surmount, their craving for independence. But the wretched state of the province in the twelfth century may be best appreciated from the language of a contemporary writer. "In every part of unfortunate Tuscany, things both divine and human are plunged into universal confusion. Cities, castles, towns, villages, the public roads, and even the sacred churches, are filled with murder, sacrilege, and theft. Pilgrims, monks, abbots, priests, bishops, archbishops, primates, and patriarchs, are exposed to all these evils; are despoiled and scattered, nay even beaten and murdered."[19] Though the nominal dominion of Tuscany had been granted by Lothaire to Henry the Proud, the cities of Pisa, Lucca, Florence, Siena, Arezzo, and Pistoia were all struggling for freedom; and more or less involved themselves in private warfare.

Pisa.

Of all these, Pisa was the most conspicuous in the twelfth century. She had long disputed the supremacy with Lucca; and the wars of these

Lucca.

[18] Mur. Ann. 1137.

[19] Letter of Peter, Abbot of Clugni, to Roger, King of Sicily, apud Muratori, Ann. 1139.

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two states are cited as the earliest instance of two Italian cities engaging in arms against each other.[20] But the exploits of Pisa by sea gave her a higher consideration than all her conflicts on land. Her Navy was no less powerful than that of Genoa, of whom she was the rival both in war and commerce; and their mutual jealousy sometimes burst forth into open rupture. She wrested Sardinia and Majorca from the Saracen pirates; and we have already seen her, in conjunction with Genoa, lending assistance to the cause of Innocent II., to the discomfiture of Roger King of Sicily, and the destruction of the once flourishing Republic of Amalfi.[21]

Florence.

The importance of Florence was of a later growth. Her foundation indeed, may be traced to the Republic of Rome;[22] in the days of Tiberius she was a considerable city;[23] and under the successors of Constantine she baffled the ferocity of the northern invaders.[24] But, if we may believe her own historians, her modern grandeur has been built upon the ruins of Fiesole; and the story of her origin as delivered by the elder Villani may possibly provoke a smile. According to that writer (who, in matters which came within his own knowledge, enjoys the character of honesty and

[20] By Muratori, Ann. 1004.

[21] Sismondi, Rep. Ital. ch. V.

[22] Machiavelli, Ist. Fior. Lib. II.

[23] Tacit. Ann. Lib. I. s. 79. She joined in an address to the Roman Senate against altering the course of the rivers and lakes which swelled the Tiber.

[24] Gibbon, vol. V. p. 216.

veracity),[25] Attalus, the fifth in descent from Japhet, the son of Noah, having consulted the stars to discover the most salubrious spot in Europe, was directed to a mountain situated midway between the Mediterranean and the Adriatic. There he founded the first European city, which he adorned with a superb palace; and with laudable precaution he surrounded it with stupendous fortifications, whose remains were yet to be seen in the days of the author. This primeval city having been destroyed by Cæsar, the victorious Romans descended to the banks of the Arno enriched with the spoils of Fesulæ; and erected a town in the design of preventing the re-establishment of the ruined city. The Historian confesses his inability to account for the name of Florence;[26] but her perpetual dissensions he easily traces to the hostile blood of her primitive inhabitants, the victorious Romans and the vanquished Fesulans.[27] The design of Cæsar was frustrated by Totila,

B. C. 70.

A. D. 440.

[25] Sismondi, tom. VI. p. 23, and Tiraboschi, tom. V. p. II. c. VI. s. 13.

[26] The renowned Benvenuto Cellini (in his Life) derives the name from Fiorino da Cellino, a Captain of Julius Cæsar; and controverts the notion of Aretino, Poggio, and others, (that it received its name Fluenzia from its being "fluente ad Arno") by a most logical course of reasoning.

[27] Giov. Villani, Lib. I. c. 7. and c. 38.—The *martial* spirit of the Florentines, we are afterwards assured (Lib. IV. c. 7)), arose from the city's having been rebuilt during the prevalence of the planet Mars. To that God the city was originally dedicated; and he resented his dismissal to make way for a Christian patron, John the Baptist. Thus Dante;

> la città che nel Battista
> Cangiò 'l primo padrone; ond' ei per questo
> Sempre con l' arte sua la farà trista.
>
> Inf. c. XIII. v. 143.

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King of the Goths and Vandals; who destroyed Florence and rebuilt Fesulæ.

After lying in ruins for three hundred and fifty years, Florence was restored by the army of Charlemagne with extraordinary splendour;[28] and the second destruction of Fiesole was in due time resolved upon. The incautious Fiesolans admitted the Florentines into their city during the feast of St. Romulus; the gates were seized; and upon a concerted signal, the whole armament of Florence attacked the devoted city. Plunder and desolation followed; and the churches and castle were the only buildings which escaped destruction. The people were carried into Florence, which was enlarged for their reception; and were once more incorporated with the Florentines.[29] This account, impugned as it has been by the sagacious Muratori,[30] may fail to procure our implicit credence; it serves, however, to prove the utter darkness which involves the early history of Tuscany; since nothing but darkness could embolden the author to put forth with so much precision such unauthen-

[28] Giov. Villani, Lib. II. c. 2.—Lib. III. c. 1. c. 2. He seems to confound Attila with Totila, the Gothic King of Italy, whose attack upon Florence was made more than a century after the date 440 given by him. Guicciardini (Lib. I.) calls the restitution of Florence by Charlemagne, "oppinione inveterata, benchè falsa."

[29] G. Villani, Lib. IV. c. 6. and 7.—So Dante calls his countrymen,

quello ingrato popolo maligno
Che discese di Fiesole ab antico,

Inf. c. XV. v. 61.

[30] Annal. 1010.—Pignotti (Lib. III. c. 2.) adverts to the mistakes of Villani concerning Siena, but seems to have thought his account of Florence unworthy observation.

ticated assertions.[31] I may be reasonably excused if I neglect availing myself of the same authority for the ancient state of Siena, Arezzo, and Pistoia.

Siena. Arezzo. Pistoia.

After the death of Henry the Proud in 1139, the Dutchy of Tuscany was bestowed by Conrad III. on Ulric, Count of Lenzburg.[32] At this time the pugnacious spirit of the Tuscan cities was in full activity. The ancient quarrel between Lucca and Pisa extended itself to Siena and Florence; the former joining in a league with Lucca, the latter siding with Pisa. Their respective territories were successively ravaged by fire and sword; and a multitude of prisoners were doomed to a miserable captivity: but the general result of this war was evidently unfavourable to Lucca; and the victorious Pisa lost no opportunity of visiting her rival's domains with ruin and devastation.[33]

III. Venice.

III. Under the Roman Empire, Patavium, erected at no great distance from the Adriatic, commanded the extensive and flourishing province of Venetia; and the hundred islands which lay clustered in the neighbouring sea formed a port for her vessels, and an habitation for her sailors.[34] Upon one of these islands, the Rivus Altus[35] (such

Her origin. 421.

[31] "Not that I give credit to those fooleries which tell us of Noah's coming from Palestine with his son Japhet into Italy, and planting colonies there, for which we are beholden to the spurious Etruscan antiquities." Bp. Stillingfleet, Origines Sacræ, Book III. c v.

[32] Art. de vérif. tom. III. p. 751. [33] Mur. Ann. 1144.

[34] Amelot de la Houssaie, tom. II. p. 651.

[35] The advantages of this watery situation were known to the ancient Veneti. Dio Cassius (Lib. XXXIX.) mentions their cities as inaccessible

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is the orign of the name Rialto), the Paduans had founded a city; and in the year 421 the church of St. James was completed and consecrated. The new town was subjected to Consuls, or Tribunes; and, like the parent state, owed submission to the Roman Emperor.

When Attila and his Huns affrighted Italy with their presence, the Paduans sought a retreat in their new city; and the growth[36] of Venice may be dated from this period. But whilst the humble habitations of the Venetians gradually spread over the neighbouring islands, their vessels were no less an object of their solicitude; and the strength of their Navy may be referred to a much earlier date than the glories of their city. After the destruction of the Gothic kingdom, the Venetians obeyed the Emperor of the East and his exarch; and their isolated situation secured them from the incursions of the Lombards; whilst their less fortunate neighbours, the patriarch and inhabitants of Aquileia, were compelled to seek refuge in the island of Grado.[37] In the year 697 the patriarch, the nobles, and the people resolved to unite themselves under one head; and Paoluccio was chosen Duke or Doge of the Venetians. But their fidelity to the

except by sea; and they were possessed of a powerful navy, which was defeated by D. Brutus.

[36] Gibbon dates the *foundation* from the invasion of Attila. Chap. XXXV. vol. VI. p. 126.

[37] De la Houssaie, tom. II. p. 685.—A new patriarchate was afterwards established in Aquileia, subject to the Lombards, and recognized by the Pope. Murat. Ann. 719.

Emperor was undiminished; they received and succoured the fugitive exarch of Ravenna; and by their assistance that city was retaken from the Lombards.[38] Against these islanders Pepin, son of Charlemagne, had turned his arms: the origin of the war is obscurely narrated; but it excited the hostility of the Greek Emperor Nicephorus; and a faint attempt was made to succour the Venetians. Pepin appears to have possessed himself of the islands of Chiozza, Palestrina, and Malamocco; and the fugitives were again confined to the Rialto. They were saved from further persecution by a treaty between the two Emperors, in which the Venetians were recognized as the subjects of the eastern Empire. The ducal residence was thus transferred from Malamocco to Rialto; and the name of VENICE was appropriated to the city, which, from that minute centre, gradually expanded itself over the surface of the waters.[39]

725.

729.

However anxious the Venetians might be to accomplish their independence of the western Emperors, prudence suggested conciliation; and, as they began to aspire to territory on the mainland, they from time to time obtained the imperial decree, which recognized and confirmed their rights in the kingdom of Italy.[40] To the Greek Emperor

[38] De la Houssaie, p. 692.—Giann. Lib. V. s. 2.—Mur. Ann. 729.

[39] Murat. Ann. 810. 811.

[40] The Author of the "Examination of the original liberty of Venice." has argued with the greatest success the dependence of Venice on the Western, as well as the Eastern Empire. De la Houssaie, tom. II. p. 715.—Murat. Ann. 842. 883. 891. 925. by which it appears Venice had very early the privilege of coining.

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they condescended to yield a greater degree of submission; and from him their Dukes received the title of imperial consuls, and the high-sounding
737-742. appellations of Hypatus and Protospatarios.[41] Once the ducal government was suspended, and for four years Venice was governed by a Master of the Soldiery. But the ancient title was revived; the election of the duke was vested in the people; his authority was almost without limit; and the violence so frequently inflicted by the Venetians on their sovereigns may prove the measure of oppression which excited them to murder or deposition.[42] In one of these domestic commotions, the rising city of Venice had nearly perished. The ducal
976. palace was fired by the infuriated people; and the flames rapidly spread to the surrounding buildings: nor was the fire extinguished until the churches of St. Mark, St. Theodore, and the Virgin, together with three hundred houses, were reduced to ashes. But to this calamity the city owed its extraordinary splendour; a new and gorgeous range of edifices arose out of the ruins; and in the restoration of their capital the sons were consoled for the misery of their fathers.[43] Meanwhile the Venetians were intently devoted to the pursuits of commerce; their vessels

[41] Murat. Ann. 740. 772. 807. 819. 821. 992.—Daru, Hist. de Venise, tom, I p. 57.

[42] Murat. Ann. 737. 755. 756. 764. 804. 810. 837. 864. 976. 1032. 1085.—De la Houssaie, tom. I. p. 3.

[43] It was on this occasion that the present Church of St. Mark was erected. Another fire in 1111 contributed further to the beauty of the city. Daru, tom. I. p. 156.

covered the Adriatic; and as early as the ninth century Venice had become the Emporium, not only of Italy, but of Greece and the adjoining countries.[44]

During the eleventh century, Venice became the prey of domestic faction, and was distracted by the contests of two parties, distinguished by the family names of Morosini and Caloprini.[45] But amidst all her intestine convulsions this powerful state had leisure to extend her dominions to the opposite shores of the Adriatic. After obtaining possession of the city of Zara, the Venetians succeeded in conquering Pola, Traù, Spalatro, Ragusa, and other maritime towns, together with the neighbouring islands; and their Prince assumed in 997 the title of Duke of Venice and Dalmatia.[46] An attack upon their Dalmatian territories by the Hungarians was successfully resented; and their junction with the Crusaders was rewarded by one-third portion of the city of Tyre. The withholding of their ancient honours and privileges produced a rupture with the Greek Emperor, John Comnenus; the islands of Rhodes, Scio, Samos, Mitylene, and Andro were visited by their devastations; and a short-lived peace was purchased by the son and successor of John with the restoration and enlargement of their former privileges.[47] Nor were the Italian cities of the Adriatic suffered to overlook the growing powers of Venice. The seizure of some Venetians by Co-

Her conquests in Dalmatia;

And in Italy.

[44] Denina, Lib. VIII. c. 12. [45] Sismondi, Rep. Ital. tom. I. p. 338.
[46] Daru, tom. I. p. 129. [47] Murat. Ann. 1117. 1123. 1124. 1125. 1149.

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machio reduced that city to ashes; the menaces of Ravenna, Pesaro, and Senigaglia against Fermo were silenced by the over-awing presence of the Venetian fleet; and Padua, the ancient mother of the Republic, bowed beneath the chastising hand of her relentless offspring.[48]

IV. Estates of the Church.

IV. In the long disputed question of the extent of the Patrimony of St. Peter, the liberality of Constantine, of Pepin, of Charlemagne, and of Lewis I. had been perpetually appealed to. The gift of the former, indeed, has long been set at rest;[49] and each successive claim serves only to prove the weakness of the former. A patient examiner is content to allow that Charlemagne bestowed on the Pope the Exarchate, the Pentapolis, and the dutchy of Rome,[50] a territory extending on the east from Faenza to Ancona, and on the west from the Tiber to Terracina.[51] The order of government preserved throughout this ample territory is extremely obscure, though the annals of the times exhibit a Duke of

[48] Mur. Ann. 935. 1111. 1140. 1143. On this last occasion Venice first employed foreign troops. Daru. tom. I. p. 170.

[49] Gibbon, vol. IX. p. 162.—Yet Dante speaks as if he believed in the donation of Constantine;—

> Ahi Costantin, di quanto mal fu matre,
> Non la tua conversion, ma quella Dote,
> Che da te presse il primo ricco Patre.
>
> Inf. XIX. v. 115.

and he adopts the popular tradition, that the Emperor removed from Rome to make way for the papal power;—

> Per cedere al pastor si fece Greco.
>
> Parad. XX. v. 57.

[50] Giannone, Lib. V. c. II. s. 2.—c. IV. and Lib. VI. A much larger territory is claimed for the Church by Platina, in vit. Adriani I.

[51] Ante, chap. I. p. 15. note 42.

Rome, with other petty dutchies.[52] Nor has the most elaborate of antiquaries been able to solve the question of the internal government of the city of Rome in the ninth and tenth centuries. The names of Senator and Consul are darkly discerned; but their offices and authority remain a secret; and we are left to infer a continual struggle between the Popes and the nobles for the mastery in the eternal city.[53] But had the territorial claims of the church of Rome been admitted, scarcely any part of Italy would, in the twelfth century, have been exempted from her dominion. Besides the dutchy of Rome, the Pentapolis, and the march of Ravenna, the Popes regarded as their own the dutchy of Spoleto; and, by the grant of the countess Matilda, the dutchy of Tuscany and great portion of Lombardy. Without a shadow of title they also made pretensions to the south of Italy, which after being shared between the eastern and western Emperors had gradually fallen into the grasp of the Normans. But these extensive claims had been continually resisted by the Emperors; the estates of Matilda were seized by Henry V.; and Lothaire II. asserted his right of possession, whilst he seems to have conceded to Innocent II. the ultimate sovereignty

[52] Murat. Antiq. Ital. Diss. V.

[53] What Muratori and Gibbon (vol. XII. p. 277), and Sismondi (vol. I. p. 125) have shrunk from handling, is boldly grasped by Desodoards, who in a history of Italy, not remarkable for accuracy, has given as minute and detailed an account of the Senate as if he had formed a part of that august body. tom. II. c. 19. p. 363. He seems, however, to have relied on Machiavelli, whose otherwise valuable History of Florence is prefaced by a general view of Italian history full of the most glaring mis-statements.

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in the soil. The cession of the march of Tuscany by the Emperors to their favourites virtually denied the right of the Popes; and their title to the dutchy of Spoleto appears as void of foundation as their pretended sovereignty in the south. Their claims, however, to these territories continued for centuries to be the subject of dispute with the Emperors: and the indefinite expression, "the Estates of Matilda," never failed to aggravate contention, when any other subject of dispute arose between the rival powers.

V. Kingdom of Sicily.

V. During the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, the southern part of Italy, nearly corresponding with the modern kingdom of Naples, was convulsed by continual conflicts. I have already had occasion to notice the incursions of the Saracens, the victories of the Greeks, and the establishment of the Normans.[54] Under the Greeks the city of Bari became the capital of the *Theme* of Lombardy. In this might be included the principalities of Benevento, Capua, and Salerno, though the princes of those districts continually shifted their submission from the Greek, to the Western, Emperor. But the dutchies of Naples, Gaieta, and Amalfi preserved their fidelity to the Emperors of the East; and the last, rich and flourishing in trade with Africa, Arabia, and India, was long their most valuable possession in the west. The Saracens, however, still lingered in Italy: after their defeat by John X. they were re-inforced by new swarms

[54] Ante, p. 86. 144.

of their countrymen from Sicily and Africa; and, by a strong fortress erected on Mount Garganus, they kept Apulia in continual alarm.[55]

The successive grants of Leo IX., Nicholas II., Alexander II., Gregory VII., Anacletus II., and Innocent II. at length vested the Greek and Lombard possessions in the Normans; the ancient Republics of Gaieta, Amalfi, and Naples were no more; and the death of Roger in 1154 transmitted the splendid kingdom of Sicily to his son William I., shortly before the arrival of Frederic in Italy. But upon this occasion the sovereign right of the see of Rome was not forgotten; and the assumption of the crown by William without the sanction of the Pope was made matter of the deepest resentment.[56]

William I. King of Sicily. 1154-1166.

Thus, then, in the twelfth century, the sovereignty of Italy was assumed by a Stranger and a Priest. The continual absence of the Emperor and the temporal imbecility of the Pontiff might have suggested the expediency of strict accordance. But by their jealousies and contests they had gradually

[55] Giannone, Lib. VII. c. IV. s. 1.—ibid. Lib. VIII. tom. III. p. 323.—Gibbon, vol. X. p. 279.

[56] Murat. Ann.—The kingdom of Roger comprehended, besides the island, the dutchies of Apulia and Calabria, the principalities of Salerno and Capua, the dutchies of Amalfi, Gaieta, and Naples, and the principality of Bari. Roger styled himself *Rex Siciliæ, Ducatûs Apuliæ, et Principatûs Capuæ.* The continental territory was called *Sicilia citrà Pharum* (i. e. Messinæ); the island, *Sicilia ultrà Pharum.* The title of King of the two Sicilies was first used by Alfonso I. See Giannone, Lib. X. c. 10. and Lib. XI. c. 4. For the family of Roger, see Appendix, Table XXI.

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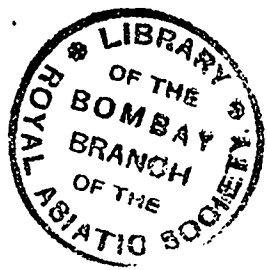
unsettled the respect and allegiance of their vassals; and a republican spirit in the north and a powerful kingdom in the south now threatened defiance to the papal and imperial authority.



CHAPTER X.

REIGN OF FREDERIC I. CONTINUED.

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First expedition of Frederic into Italy. 1154.

In the month of October of the year 1154, Frederic the first, attended by Henry the Lion and a numerous host, passed through the vale of Trent, crossed the Alps, and halted on the banks of the beautiful lake of Garda. From that station he moved with his whole suite to Roncaglia, in order to receive the personal recognition of his Italian subjects. The Germans beheld with astonishment the civilized state of the Italians, who no longer retained the rude customs of the barbarous Lombards, but rivalled the ancient Romans in the urbanity of their manners and the harmony of their language. The several cities despatched their *Consuls* to the Diet, those important officers of a municipal government, chosen annually, and indifferently from the captains, valvassors, and people; and new wonder was excited in the imperial host at a policy, which, whilst it had enclosed the rural nobility within the city walls, admitted into the most responsible offices the humblest of the citizens. The Germans confessed the superior wealth and splendour of the Italian States; but it was manifest that their pride had swelled with their riches; and that

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although they submitted to acknowledge Frederic at the head of a numerous army, their obedience was sullen and reluctant, whilst they panted for freedom and independence.[1]

Of all who displayed a repugnance to the German dominion, Milan was the most conspicuous; and Frederic anxiously sought an occasion for an open rupture, by which he might at once crush the growing seeds of rebellion. But the Milanese prudently averted his vengeance by their submission, however ungracious; and by their consent to pay him an annual stipend. At the instigation of Pavia, he readily undertook to chastise the little city of Tortona, one of the most faithful allies of Milan; and

Siege of Tortona. 1155.

he besieged it in person, with every engine of attack which the art of war was in that age acquainted with. After a brave resistance, Tortona submitted to the horrors of famine rather than to the German arms; and though the lives of the inhabitants were spared, the city was razed to its foundations. By similar severities Frederic displayed the skill of his army in the science of destruction; the Lombards

[1] Murat. Ann. from Otho Frisingensis, the maternal uncle and attendant of Frederic in this expedition, Otho was thus connected with Frederic;

Agnes, dau. of Henry IV. married

1. Frederic II. D. of Swabia.	2. Leopold III. M. of Austria.
Frederic II. D. of Swabia, m. Judith.	Otho, Bp. of Freisingen.
Frederic I. (Barbarossa.)	

And see Frederic's Genealogy, Appendix, Table IX.

were taught the full power of fire and sword; and the German, at length satisfied with the misery he had inflicted, turned his thoughts to the important ceremony of his coronation. In Pavia he received the iron crown of Lombardy;[2] he next visited Bologna: and, passing through Tuscany, advanced at the head of his army by rapid marches upon Rome.

Frederic I. crowned King of Lombardy.

Whilst these things were transacting in the north a change took place in the see of Rome. Anastasius IV. had succeeded Eugenius III. and survived his elevation little more than a year. The chair of St. Peter was now for the first and last time filled by an Englishman. Nicholas Breakspear was born near St. Alban's, and had been driven by poverty to seek his fortune in a foreign land. In the retirement of a convent at Avignon he first evinced those talents and established that reputation which afterwards raised him to the highest station in Christendom. Accident had introduced him to Eugenius III. who immediately perceived his merit; and his success in converting the barbarians of Norway was rewarded by the bishopric of Albano and a cardinal's hat. On the death of Anastasius he was unanimously elected Pope, and assumed the title of Adrian IV.

Anastasius IV. 1153-1154.

Adrian IV. 1154-1159.

The heretical Arnold of Brescia still agitated Rome; and the violence of his disciples and the murder of a cardinal awakened the vengeance of

[2] To this conclusion Muratori arrives after a very elaborate enquiry. Ann. 1155.

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Adrian in the very beginning of his reign. The city of Rome was exposed to all the miseries of an interdict; but the spirit of insubordination could only be destroyed by a more powerful agent than mere spiritual censures; and the presence of the Emperor was needed to allay the heretical disorder. Yet the celerity of Frederic's martial approach filled the Pope with distrust and apprehension; and he despatched an embassy to assure himself of the friendly or hostile sentiments of the German. The enmity, however, of Frederic was reserved for the Normans; and he was studious to secure the good offices of the Pope. Fortunately for his views, the new King of Sicily, William I., had incurred the papal resentment by assuming the crown without the sanction and investiture of the holy father. His own subjects too, disgusted by the torpidity of William, who buried in the debaucheries of his palace delivered over his kingdom to the tyranny of Maio, were armed in open rebellion against him. In his design of driving the Normans from Italy, Frederic had enlisted the services of the Genoese and Pisans, and even negociated with the Emperor Manuel, whose dominions had severely suffered by the Norman incursions. The favour of the Pope was therefore too valuable to be neglected; his ambassadors were most amicably welcomed; whilst those of the Roman Senate, who sought his sanction for its re-establishment, were ignominiously dismissed from his presence. The seditious Arnold was burnt alive, and his ashes consigned to the

Tiber.[3] After a tedious interchange of messages, Frederic swore a solemn oath to support the state and office of the Pope and Cardinals, and proceeded towards Rome for the performance of his coronation. As the King approached the gates, the Pope advanced to meet him; at the royal tent the King received him, and having devoutly kissed the feet of his holiness, expected in return the kiss of peace. But one essential ceremony had been forgotten: Frederic had omitted to hold the stirrup of the Pope;[4] and the kiss of peace was resolutely withheld, until this accustomed humiliation should be complied with. The King hesitated; the Pope withdrew: and a whole day was exhausted in debating this important point. At length the scruples of Frederic melted away: he repaired to the Pope's pavilion and dismounted: the stirrup was held; the kiss was given; and the illustrious pair moved forward to the Leonine city. The tumultuous humour of the Romans made it prudent to avoid the streets of Rome; the Pope and the King retired to the Vatican; and the German army fixed its encampment around the ruins of the Amphitheatre of Nero.[5]

Frederic arrives at Rome.

On the following morning, Frederic advanced to the Basilica of St. Peter's, and being met upon the steps by the Pope, received, after taking the accus-

[3] Gibbon, vol. XII. p. 276.—Von Raumer, Geschichte der Hohenstaufen, Book IV. c. 1. vol. II. p. 38. Edit. Leipzig, 1823.

[4] According to some writers, the cause of offence was the king's holding the *left* stirrup instead of the right. Raumer, ub. sup. p. 40.

[5] Murat. Ann. 1155.—Platina, vit. Hadriani.

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And is crowned Emperor. 18th June 1155.

tomed oaths, the imperial crown and ensigns amidst the acclamations of the German army. Meanwhile the Romans, who had been called to no participation in this ceremony, assembled with their Senate in the Capitol, whence they proceeded in arms towards the Vatican, assaulting every German whom they chanced to meet. The Germans retaliated: from mid-day till night-fall Rome presented a frightful scene of slaughter and devastation, in which the aggressors sustained a severe punishment for their rashness. Upwards of a thousand Romans were left for dead: many thousands were wounded; and about two hundred were made prisoners.[6] Of these, some at the intercession of the Pope were permitted to return to their homes; whilst the punishment of others was committed to the milder hands of the Prefect of Rome. The next day the Pope, the Emperor, and the whole army, retired to Tivoli.

He returns to Germany.

The malignant quality of the summer climate was speedily visible upon the German troops: disease spread through their camp: and the unhealthy state of the army called loudly for a return to their native country. The mortification of both the Pope and the Emperor was extreme; for Frederic was compelled to abandon his expedition against the Normans; and Adrian beheld with dismay the departure of an ally so necessary in the struggle with the turbulent Romans. Frederic and the

[6] Struvius, p. 384. According to him, only one German was killed and one taken.

sickly remains of his army withdrew: in their way homewards they gratified their lust for plunder on the unhappy city of Spoleto, which had dared to shew disaffection to the new Emperor. Thence they proceeded to Ancona, a city strongly attached to the Emperor Manuel, whose ambassadors were careful to propitiate the western Cæsar by costly gifts. From Verona, Frederic breathed forth denunciations against Milan ;[7] and crossing the Adige arrived, after some unimportant accidents, in his German dominions.[8]

Peace between the Pope and William I. King of Sicily. 1156.

The retreat of Frederic at this juncture was a double blow to Adrian. Besides his contention with the Romans, he had engaged in an open war with the King of Sicily, and by encouraging the rebellion of the discontented nobles had thrown the island into revolt. William at length burst the bonds of his luxurious captivity, and placing himself at the head of the few who still adhered to him, astonished the insurgents by his promptitude and valour, and quickly reduced the island to submission. He then crossed over into Apulia, where his arms were equally successful. Adrian, who had taken the field, found it prudent to retreat to Benevento, whither he was quickly pursued by William ; and a vigorous siege of the city soon reduced the

[7] The violence of that city towards Lodi and Como was the pretence.

[8] Murat. Ann. 1155.—This indefatigable writer states a little too strongly that Ancona was *dependent* on (ubbidiente e suddita) the Greek Emperor. (Ann. 1167.)—Gibbon is more near the truth. Vol X. p 319. The Greek Emperor spared no expense to conciliate the Anconese, hoping from that city to spread his arms over Italy.

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Pope to an alarming extremity. A negociation for peace was entered into; and as the Pope consented to confirm the King of Sicily in his dominions, a treaty was without difficulty effected. In pursuance of that treaty William and his son Roger were invested in perpetuity with the kingdom of Sicily, the Dutchy of Apulia, and the principality of Capua, together with Naples, Salerno, and Amalfi, the March, and other lands adjacent; in return for which the king bound himself to pay an annual tribute in respect of his *Italian* dominions.[9] One article was forgotten in this treaty: there was no provision for the safety of the barons whose rebellion had been sanctioned by the Pope; and those who were not fortunate enough to accomplish their flight were punished with death, or the loss of their eyes.

Rupture between the Pope and the Emperor. 1157.

The proud soul of Frederic was fired by the news of this peace, concluded without his participation, and in direct opposition to his design of annihilating the Norman dominion. As the Emperor of the world (for he had now ceased to recognize the Eastern Augustus,[10]) he could ill brook the

[9] Giannone, Lib. XII. s. 2.—Murat. Ann. 1156.—With respect to the *March*, Muratori hesitates, and conjectures that it must mean *Chieti*, and not Camerino or Ancona. As to the adjacent lands, the words of the original grant are sufficiently indistinct, " alia quæ ultra Marsiam *debemus habere*, et reliqua tenementa quæ tenemus, &c.—But as Robert Guiscard conquered part of the March of Ancona, and had claimed the investiture of this from Gregory VII., which, however, together with Salerno and Amalfi, was refused to him, (see Gian. Lib. X. c. V. s. 1.) the ample grant of Adrian might embrace the anciently-desired March.

[10] Murat. Ann. 1156.

assumption of the Bishop of Rome in creating or confirming a King without the imperial authority. His displeasure was quickly transmitted to Adrian, who was as little willing to abate the papal dignity: but he forthwith despatched two legates with a temperate letter of remonstrance. The legates found the Emperor at Besançon, whither he had gone to strengthen by his presence his title to the kingdom of Burgundy: they were received with due honour: the letter was read in an assembly of nobles, and those who were ignorant of the Latin tongue received the assistance of a translation. The equivocal word *Beneficium* might perhaps be rendered by the translator in its most offensive sense; and a murmur ran through the assembly, that the Pope intended to revive the exploded doctrine that the Empire was a *Fief* of the see of Rome. Such a position was now doubly odious, for it involved a breach of faith. While Frederic was in Rome he had observed with uneasiness a picture, which represented the Emperor Lothaire at the feet of the Pope, illustrated by a distich [11] which plainly implied that the Emperor, by receiving the imperial diadem, became the papal vassal. Frederic had remonstrated, and Adrian had promised to destroy the obnoxious painting. The letter now revived the indignation of the Emperor: high words were interchanged between

[11] "Rex venit ante fores, jurans prius urbis honores:
Post homo fit Papæ, sumit, quo dante, coronam."
Attila had been disgusted at Millan by a similar representation. Gibbon, vol. VI. p. 125.

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the Germans and the Italians, and one of the legates indiscreetly demanding "of whom but the Pope could the Empire be holden?" Otho of Wittelsbach, Count of Palatine Bavaria, was with difficulty restrained from decapitating the imprudent querist. The Emperor, however, shewed more moderation; he protected the legates by present confinement; and on the following day they were safely guarded upon their return to Rome.[12]

Second expedition of Frederic into Italy. 1158.

The affairs of Frederic in Italy now assumed a critical appearance. William was his natural enemy: the Pope was no longer to be relied on: Lombardy was still restless and rebellious. The presence of the Emperor at the head of an army appeared the only course effectually to curb his subjects and terrify his foes; he hastened, therefore, to collect his troops and fixed upon Augsburg as the *rendezvous.* But before he marched from that city he was agreeably surprised by an amicable embassy from the Pope, who alarmed at the threatened descent into Italy grew anxious for reconciliation. The ambassadors were admitted to an audience, and with every demonstration of respect presented a letter from the Pope, in which the holy father mildly protested against the obnoxious interpretation of *Beneficium,* and disclaimed all notion of treating the Empire as a fief of the Church.[13] After this important concession, smaller differences

Reconciliation with the Pope.

[12] Murat. Ann. 1157.—Raumer, vol. II. p. 75.

[13] Beneficium non feudum, sed *bonum factum.* Struvius, p. 387.

were easily adjusted: the ambassadors were caressed, and dismissed with valuable presents, and the most cordial assurances of the Emperor's affection for their master. Frederic found it convenient to forget the original cause of their rupture, the peace with the King of Sicily; and thus the denial of a hypothetical affront was received as a compensation for an actual injury.

Frederic, animated by this seasonable adjustment, marched for Lombardy. He divided his immense army into several detachments: and attended by Ladislaus, (whom he had lately converted from *Duke* into) King of Bohemia, Frederic IV. Duke of Swabia, Conrad Count Palatine of the Rhine, and many of the chief nobility and prelates, he passed through the valley of Trent and appeared before the gates of Brescia. The terrified citizens purchased their safety by payment of an enormous sum of money; and the German army moved on towards Milan. That city had justly merited chastisement by new cruelties on the inhabitants of Lodi, who refused to renounce their allegiance to the Emperor, and preferred death or exile to the violation of their oath of fealty. Frederic crossed the Adda, and being joined by the forces of many Italian states, arrived under the walls of Milan with an army of an hundred thousand effective men. The lofty walls and towers, the deep ditch,[14] and

Siege of Milan.

[14] Muratori, in the 26th Dissertation of his Italian Antiquities, has elaborately discussed the fortifications and besieging-machines, as well as the whole military system, of the Italians during the middle ages.

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above all the valour and constancy of the Milanese, seemed proof against an external enemy: but the miseries of famine and pestilence gradually spread their ravages within the city, until at length reduced to the last stage of misery, they could only preserve their lives upon hard conditions of surrender. They agreed to restore Lodi and Como to liberty; to pay nine thousand marks of silver; to give three hundred hostages; to release all prisoners; to submit their consuls to the confirmation of the Emperor; and to surrender to him the right of toll and coinage. To give their pride a severer shock, Frederic stationed himself nearly four miles from the city, and thither the nobles in mean attire, and the people with halters about their necks, passed barefooted through the ranks of the Germans who lined the road. In a suppliant posture they besought and received the imperial pardon: they delivered up their prisoners, amongst whom were a thousand Pavians: and the banner of the Empire was displayed in triumph over the once proud city of Milan.[15]

Diet of Roncaglia.

Flushed with success, Frederic proceeded to Roncaglia where he held a Diet, in which measures were concerted for securing the permanent obedience of Lombardy, and imposing new burthens upon the affrighted province. And here a solemn mockery was performed, and a doctrine gravely promulgated, highly characteristic of the age. The

[15] Murat. Ann. 1158.—Struvius, p. 389.—Raumer, vol. II. p. 98.

base adulations of his courtiers had assured Frederic that, as monarch of the world, he was Lord of the property of his subjects; a position extorted from the Roman law,[16] and evidenced by the Pandects, which had recently become a favourite study in Italy. It is creditable to Frederic's good sense and honesty (if so homely a word may be applied to an Emperor), that he was staggered by this doctrine; and without reposing implicit faith in the assurances of his universal property, he desired that the question might be debated in his presence by the most skilful jurists. As Bologna[17] had acquired the highest reputation by the studies of Irnerius and his disciples, the four most learned professors of the law were summoned from that city to Roncaglia. Of these, Bulgaro alone had the boldness to dissent from the flatterers, and to distinguish between ultimate dominion and usufructuary property. But the Judge was not altogether unbiassed: the arguments of Bulgaro's antagonists were deemed the more convincing; and Frederic with little hesitation acquiesced in the assertion, that the possessions of this world were all his own. By a fairer title he laid claim to the less disputable sources of royal revenue; and the Italians might accuse his harshness in reviving, but not his injustice in inventing, a long catalogue of oppressive

[16] Puffendorf, Jur. Nat. Lib. VIII. c. 5. § 1. 3.

[17] Muratori justly treats the tradition of the foundation of the *University* of Bologna in 431 as a fable, and ascribes it to the twelfth century. Ann. 1116.

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taxes.[18] By a still more oppressive decree, he forbad the Lombards to choose their own magistrates under severe penalties, and himself assumed the right of appointing their respective officers of government.[19] And in order to check the growing power of the clergy, whose temporal possessions had converted them into nobles and princes, he ordained that in future no fief should be given or bequeathed to the Church.

These arbitrary measures alarmed the papal court; real or imaginary grievances led to mutual inculpations; angry letters were exchanged; and Adrian bitterly complained that the imperial name had been placed before his own, taxing the Emperor with insolence, not to say, arrogance.[20] The Romans, who still thirsted for the efficient restoration of their Senate, took occasion to court the Emperor; and the foundation was laid for those troubles which shortly afterwards convulsed Rome. But Adrian was not destined to be a partaker in these scenes of discord. Death, the unwelcome friend of the distressed, stepped in to his rescue; and he expired at Anagni on the 1st of September

[18] See this list of Regalia, in Giannone, Lib. XII. c. 1. The Italians were exempt from taxation until the time of Augustus, though they often voluntarily contributed. Gibbon, vol. I. p. 256. 260.

[19] Giannone, ub. sup.—Murat. Ann. 1158.

[20] In literis ad nos missis, nomen tuum nostro præponis; in quo *insolentiæ*, ne dicam *arrogantiæ*, notam incurris. Baronius, apud Schmidt, vol. II. p. 604. The equivocal word *insolentia*, was artfully chosen; because, as Schmidt observes, it was capable of expressing something *unusual*, as well as its most offensive meaning.

1159, in the sixth year of his reign.[21] He has transmitted to posterity a fair and unblemished character; and England may boast of her single Pope as one of the most blameless of the Roman Pontiffs.

Death of Adrian IV. 1159.

The death of Adrian was followed by a schism in the Church, and Christendom was perplexed by the double election of Rolando of Siena and Ottaviano, Cardinal of St. Cecilia. The former assumed the title of Alexander III., the latter that of Victor IV. Alexander had been elected by a great majority of the clergy; but his rival had the support of the imperial ambassador, and a crowd of Roman citizens. After being closely besieged in St. Peter's for several days, Alexander was happy to escape from Rome with the cardinals who supported him, and withdrew to Nympha, where he was consecrated by the Bishop of Ostia; Victor being thus left in possession of the Leonine city.

Schism in the Church.

Alexander III. Pope. Victor IV. Antipope.

Both parties lost no time in apprizing the Emperor of their respective elections. Frederic was now actively engaged in the siege of Crema, which for a long time baffled the united efforts of the Germans, the Pavians, and the Cremonese. By a refinement of cruelty the Emperor endeavoured to guard his besieging engines from the missiles of the besieged, by tying upon them his prisoners; so that every stone or dart might be aimed at a brother or a friend. But this barbarity only provoked retaliation, and the most miserable scenes of butchery

[21] Murat. Ann 1158. 1159.

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were daily acted upon the walls of the devoted city. The messengers of Alexander, who found the Emperor busied in this bloody pastime, were received with a ferocity which announced his hostility to their cause; their letters were rejected with disdain; and their persons escaped violence only by the interference of Henry the Lion and his uncle Guelph VIII. At length Crema yielded to the imperial arms; its inhabitants were permitted to withdraw with their moveables; and they availed themselves of this privilege by carrying forth their dearest treasures, their sick and wounded relatives. Wives bore out their expiring husbands; the men were loaded with their wives and children. But this picture of human misery, and of the exercise of the tenderest sympathies, failed to touch the stern heart of the conqueror. The empty city was abandoned to the flames; and the people of Cremona infamously distinguished themselves by their zeal in overthrowing the very foundations.

Siege and destruction of Crema. 1160.

Frederic withdrew from the smoking ruins of Crema to Pavia; where affecting anxiety to put an end to the schism, he summoned a council, inviting the bishops and abbots of Germany, Italy, France, England, Spain, and Hungary, and demanding the presence of Alexander to hear and abide by the imperial decree. But the Pope too well knew the Emperor's prepossession for his adversary to listen to the summons, and protested against the imperial right to hold a council for the decision of an ecclesiastical dispute. Victor was, therefore,

recognized without hesitation as the lawful head of the Church by the Emperor and the prelates of Germany; and Frederic shewed his devotion by kissing the feet and holding the stirrup of his creature. Alexander was denounced as an usurper; and from his retreat at Anagni he revenged himself by excommunicating the Emperor and his Anti-pope.[22]

The claims of Alexander met with a very different reception from William, King of Sicily; and he had soon the satisfaction of being acknowledged as the true Pope by Louis VII. King of France, and Henry II. King of England. As he felt his situation insecure in Italy he accepted the offer of William to furnish him with the means of sailing from Terracina: and there embarking and passing on to Genoa, he landed at Marseilles, and finally arrived in Paris. Frederic had tried every means to detach Louis and Henry from the cause of Alexander: and had now the mortification to learn his favourable reception in France, and his holding a Council at Tours assisted by the two kings in person.[23] 1163.

But the schism in the Church was a secondary consideration with Frederic; and the arrival of the expected re-inforcements from Germany enabled him to attack Milan, which had again broken out into rebellion. As the winter was now closing in, and Placentia had supplied the Milanese with a

Second siege of Milan.

[22] Murat. Ann. 1160.—The worthy Annalist evinces his orthodoxy by the expression "i *fetenti* piedi."

[23] Giann. Lib. XII. c. 4.

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large stock of provisions, it was thought prudent to postpone operations till the spring, and for the present merely to destroy the vines and other produce of the neighbourhood. Frederic accordingly fixed his winters-quarters at Lodi, the situation of which enabled him to cut off further supplies from Milan; and the German system of devastation had, by the beginning of the year, reduced the city to extreme distress. The famished citizens were left to choose between the miseries of want and the clemency of the Emperor; and the more resolute were overborn by the multitude, so that it was resolved to send ambassadors to Lodi, and by a ready submission to obtain the most favourable terms. But Frederic sternly informed them, he would grant them no conditions; and that in surrendering they must abandon themselves to his discretion. Their desperate situation and the fear of further exciting their terrible enemy urged them to a hard compliance, and they consented to give themselves up to the imperial pleasure. Accordingly, on the first of March 1162, their consuls, accompanied by a multitude of citizens, repaired to Lodi and swore implicitly to submit to the Emperor's will. Three days afterwards, a deputation of three hundred waited on Frederic, and delivered up the keys and the standards of Milan; and on the 6th of March, a vast concourse of the inhabitants, with halters round their necks, ashes on their heads, and crosses in their hands, arrived with the Carroccium, which was forthwith dismantled,

Milan surrenders.

amidst the tears and lamentations of the miserable people.

In addition to these acts of humiliation the Emperor demanded four hundred hostages; and ordered the citizens to level so much of their walls as might admit the conqueror and his army.[24] The fate of Milan was still left in doubt; and Frederic proceeded to Pavia, where a solemn deliberation was had, during which the Lombard enemies of the Milanese urged every topic against the devoted city. At length the deputies of Milan were summoned to hear their doom. Nothing short of the complete overthrow of this once flourishing state could satisfy the relentless Emperor; Milan was to be no more; her populous streets were to be a wilderness; and her inhabitants were commanded to retire without delay from their ancient habitations. The wretched citizens, overwhelmed by this bitter decree, fled in confusion to the surrounding country, and sought refuge in the neighbouring villages and monasteries; whilst the Emperor at the head of his army entered the deserted city, through a spacious breach in the ramparts. The walls were dismantled and laid in ruins; the entrenchments filled up and levelled; and the public buildings, with the exception of the churches, were delivered over to the flames. But Frederic forbore to execute the extremity of his sentence. "The city," says a modern historian, "was saved from plunder; private property was respected; the

26th March. 1162.

[24] Schmidt, vol. II. p. 616.

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houses were not thrown down; the churches were not destroyed; no plough passed over the ruins, and no salt was scattered, as a token of eternal desolation. Against the walls, the ditches, the towers, and the fortifications, the work of destruction was pointed; and notwithstanding the zeal of Como, Lodi, Cremona, and Pavia, part of the outer, and the greater portion of the inner, wall were left standing."[25] But this tardy clemency of the conqueror availed the people nothing: Milan was indeed no more; her glory eclipsed, her consideration among the cities dissipated, her very existence proscribed, and her citizens driven into exile.

Submission of Brescia, and Placentia;

The awful example of Milan was not thrown away upon the people of Brescia and Placentia, who purchased preservation by the most abject abasement, the payment of enormous sums, and the destruction of their fortifications. The like

Of Bologna, Faenza, &c.

obedience was extorted from Bologna, Faenza, and Imola; and not a city but professed submission. A favoured few were permitted to nominate their own consuls; but the greater number were subjected to the imperious controul of the Germans. By a signal act of generosity Frederic was pleased

[25] Raumer, vol. II. p. 141. The damage sustained by Milan on this occasion has without doubt been greatly exaggerated by contemporary and other writers. The contradictory accounts may be seen in Struvius, p. 393. The *plough* and *salt* appear to be purely the invention of Ptolemy of Lucca. The *ancient* row of Corinthian pillars, still standing before the church of San Lorenzo, is strong testimony against this annalist's statement. According to some accounts, it was on this occasion that the bodies of the three Kings of the East were transported from Milan to Cologne by the archbishop. Murat. Ann. 1162.—Struvius, ub. sup.

to emancipate the hostages of Milan, who were allowed to join their houseless countrymen; and, amidst the tears and execrations of the Italians, the Emperor returned to Germany.[26] In Italy, however, he re-appeared in the following year, though without any warlike preparations; and employed himself in settling the affairs of the kingdom in concert with the Italian nobles.[27]

Third expedition of Frederic into Italy. 1163.

The submission of Italy was of short duration. The Germans who domineered in the subjugated cities had made their rule intolerable, and Verona and her neighbours resolved no longer to submit. Meanwhile a change took place in the affairs of the Church: Victor, the Antipope, expired at Lucca; and though a successor, with the title of Paschall III., was acknowledged by the Emperor, the Romans weary of the schism began to listen to the friends of Alexander, and to desire his return to Rome. Even the Senate shared the general wish for his presence, and the holy father joyfully consented to quit his retreat in France. After narrowly escaping the gallies of Pisa, which maintained an unshaken alliance with Frederic, Alexander landed at Messina, where he was devoutly welcomed by the King of Sicily. No sooner had he reached the port of Ostia than the Roman Senate and people flocked out to meet him with every demonstration of joy. He was conducted in triumph to the Lateran; and the papal sovereignty appeared once more fully established in Rome.

Death of Victor IV. 1164.

Paschall III. Antipope.

Rome submits to Alexander III. 1165.

[26] Murat. Ann. 1162.

[27] Struvius, p. 397.

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During the reign of William I. the designs of Frederic upon the kingdom of Sicily were greatly encouraged by the internal confusion of that state. But these auspicious convulsions were now at an end. The assassination of the favourite Maio had already freed the Sicilians from an odious oppressor; and peace being restored, William in his dying hour secured the crown and the allegiance of the barons to his son William II., whose tender years were confided to the care of the widowed Queen Margaret. A hasty and impotent conspiracy, crushed in the bud, strengthened the cause of the young King; and his projected affiance with the daughter of the Emperor of the East, though not destined to be realized, might give sufficient uneasiness to the western Augustus.[28] But he was threatened with a more alarming project which was submitted by Manuel to the Pope; and which, but for the moderation of the latter, must have shaken Europe, and deluged her shores with Christian blood. Taking advantage of the quarrel between Frederic and Alexander, Manuel conceived the design of restoring the sovereignty of the West to the eastern Empire, and by the destruction of the rival Emperor of reuniting the severed crown of Constantine. But Alexander paused ere he lent himself to such a measure. He dexterously evaded Manuel's overtures; and without an absolute refusal to forward his design, retarded a project of which it was impossible to

William II. King of Sicily. 1166-1190.

[28] Giannone, Lib. XIII.

foresee the consequences.[29] Alexander had indeed, sufficient provocation against Frederic, and the woes of Italy secured her hatred of the German rule. Perhaps the schism between the Greek and Latin churches may account for the forbearance of the Pope: perhaps in acceding to their union (for their union was proposed by Manuel,) Alexander might have dreaded the diminution of his authority, and the dictates of ambition may have obtained the praise of disinterested wisdom. But it is the vice of history to assume too deep an insight into motives: how often in endeavouring to trace the springs of human action do we forget that we are speculating on the hidden counsels of others, and suffer our own conceits and fancies to be mingled with the secrets of a stranger.

Fourth expedition of Frederic into Italy. 1166.

The hostile position of Italy decided the Emperor upon a fourth expedition; and hastily collecting his forces he arrived in Lombardy. After wasting some time in the vain attempt to conciliate or dishearten the Lombards, he marched through Romagna, and arrived at Ancona, in the full determination of reducing that city, which openly professed allegiance to the eastern Emperor. The Pope beheld the coming storm with anxiety, and received with gratitude the good offices of the Sicilian government, which proposed to assist him with money and troops. But the strength of Rome was exhausted by the premature vehemence of her citizens, who, dreading their old enemies, the people of Tusculum, and

Siege of Ancona. 1167.

[29] Murat. Ann 1164. 1165. 1166.—Gian. Lib. XII. c. 4.

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their alliance with Frederic, endeavoured to strike an important blow before his arrival, and to overwhelm the hated city and the German troops who defended it. The inequality of their numbers was compensated by the superior coolness and discipline of the Germans; and in a sally from the town they defeated the Roman army with enormous slaughter. This event resolved Frederic to march at once to Rome; bringing the people of Ancona to easy terms, he raised the siege;[30] and after a week's attack obtained possession of the Vatican. For the second time he received the imperial crown in St. Peter's, together with the Empress Beatrice, the faithful companion of his warlike pursuits; and the Anti-pope Paschall performed in the face of the Romans what the true Pope Adrian IV. had been compelled to enact in secret. Meanwhile Alexander, who lingered in the Lateran under the protection of the Frangipani, deemed it prudent to withdraw; and after arriving at Gaieta, he took shelter within the walls of Benevento.

Second coronation of Frederic in Rome.

Frederic was scarcely established in Rome when he beheld for the second time the baneful effects of a Roman summer upon the temperament of his German soldiers. A pestilence spread through the army with frightful rapidity; its effects were cruelly sudden; and they whom the morning sun had beheld in health and vigour were consigned to their

[30] Ancona was destined to suffer another siege in 1174 by the Venetians by sea, and by the Archbishop of Mentz and a German army by land: after suffering great hardships the city was relieved by the approach of Guglielmo degli Adelardi, and Aldruda, Countess of Bertinoro. Murat. ad annum.

graves ere close of day. Nor was the contagion confined to the common herd: Frederic IV. Duke of Swabia, Rainald, Archbishop of Cologne, and the only son of Guelph, Marquis of Tuscany, with a crowd of nobles and prelates, fell victims to its ravages; and the dismayed Emperor saved himself and the miserable remains of his army by a rapid retreat into Lombardy. Rejoicing in the calamity of Frederic, the Lombards lost no opportunity of harassing his fainting troops, till Pavia received him for the winter. But here he found no security. The confederates pressed upon his footsteps; and the Emperor endeavoured to intimidate them by barbarously hanging some of his hostages, and threatening like treatment of the others, in case pursuit were continued. At Susa he found the citizens determined to capture or murder him: and leaving a faithful follower, Herman of Siebeneichen, in his bed, he quitted the town in disguise, and with five attendants escaped into Germany,[31] where his losses had occasioned universal consternation.[32]

Escape of Frederic. 1168.

As a counterbalance to these reverses, the Emperor had now the gratification of securing the imperial succession to his eldest son; and the young Henry, though but five years old, was unani-

Henry VI. King of the Romans. 1169.

[31] Struvius, p. 400. note 81.—Von Raumer, vol. II. p. 212.

[32] As the German nobles had a horrour of being buried out of Germany, it was the custom to boil away the flesh from the bones of those who died abroad, and transmit the skeletons to the graves of their fathers. Upon this occasion the lamentable tales of those who bore home these noble reliques kept alive the dismal sensations. Schmidt, Book VI. ch. 4. vol. II. p. 625.—According to Struvius, the dead were consigned to the Tiber.

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mously chosen King of the Romans in a Diet at Bamberg, and afterwards crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. Valuable inheritances were also provided for his other sons. After the death of the only son of Guelph, Marquis of Tuscany, the disconsolate father renounced all worldly splendour; and passing over his nephew Henry the Lion, surrendered his estates to the Emperor, son of his sister Judith. By the death of his cousin Frederic, son of Conrad III. in 1167 the dutchies of Franconia and Swabia also devolved to the Emperor. Frederic made good his claims to the county of Burgundy, the inheritance
1156. of his deceased father-in-law Rainald, which was surrendered to him by Berthold IV. Duke of Zæringen. The dutchy of Swabia was settled upon his second son Frederic; that of Franconia, upon Conrad, the third; and the county of Burgundy and the rest of Arles were reserved for his fourth son, Otho.[33]

The League of Lombardy.

The Lombard cities, though they still affected to respect the imperial authority, had silently formed a League against him, and had daily gained strength by new alliances. No sooner had Frederic quitted Italy than they threw off all dissimulation, and appeared in arms against the Pavians and William III. Marquis of Montferrat, who still remained faithful to the Emperor's cause. In order to straighten the enemy they determined to erect an entirely new city, which might command the March of Piedmont; and with incredible haste the town

[33] Art de vérif. tom. II. p. 340.— Raumer, vol. II. p. 219.

sprang up and received, in honour of the true Pope, the name of Alessandria. Poverty of materials compelled the allies to roof the buildings with thatch; and the insolent Pavians insulted the city by the epithet "*dalla paglia*,"[34] a name which still clings to one of the strongest cities in Lombardy. The consuls of Alessandria joined the deputies of the other cities; and the most solemn compact was entered into for the mutual support of each other in shaking off the German yoke, and establishing the independence of Lombardy. Amidst this generous enthusiasm the sufferings of the Milanese were not forgotten. The confederates led them back in triumph to their dismantled city, and Milan soon arose from her ruins in redoubled splendour. Intent upon his great object, the Emperor Manuel did not omit to strengthen his interest in Lombardy, and assisted Milan in her restoration with rich contributions. The city walls now embraced a more ample sweep; and the unprotected churches of St. Ambrose, St. Laurence, St. Nazarius, and St. Eusebius were encircled by the new ramparts.[35]

Alessandria dalla paglia built. 1168.

Milan restored. 1169.

Frederic now grew alarmed for his Italian dominions, and the timely death of the Antipope, presented a favourable opportunity for reconciliation with Alexander. Everard, Bishop of Bamberg, was despatched to treat with the Pope: but the con-

[34] This sneer marks the growing improvement in the buildings of Italy; in the preceding century, the wooden houses thatched with straw were the continual prey of extensive fires. Murat. Ann. 1030. 1147.

[35] Murat. Ann. 1166. 1171.—Struvius, p. 402. note (96).—Gibbon, vol. X. p. 319.

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ference ended in vague expressions of distant respect, and the envoy was dismissed with an evasive answer. On the other hand, Manuel still kept open his negociations with Alexander, and strengthened his influence in that quarter by the marriage of his niece with Ottone Frangipani, the Pope's most intimate ally. Tusculum[36] having now submitted to the Romans, thither Alexander repaired from Benevento; but in his absence the Roman senate had again renewed its pretensions; and as he found Rome still agitated by faction, he retired from Tusculum to Anagni to await the arrival of more auspicious times.[37]

Fifth expedition of Frederic into Italy. 1174.

Frederic's late calamities in Italy did not deter him from a fifth expedition, and the most extensive preparations were set on foot for the invasion of Lombardy. In the meantime he made overtures to the young King of Sicily, to whom he proposed to give his daughter in marriage. But William prudently declined the proffered alliance: the wisdom of his advisers suggested to him that disunion would enable the German to destroy his opponents in succession; and that when Lombardy and the Pope should be overwhelmed, the kingdom of Sicily might easily be involved in the common ruin. The Emperor received for answer, that the King of Sicily declined an amnesty which did not include the whole of his allies.[38]

[36] It was at Tusculum that he received the English ambassadors in 1171 from Henry II. on occasion of the murder of Thomas à Becket. Murat. ad ann.

[37] Murat. Ann. 1170—1172.—Giannone, Lib. XIII.

[38] Murat. Ann. 1173.—Giannone, Lib. XIII. c. I.

In the autumn of the year 1174, Frederic marched through Burgundy into Savoy, and took possession of Turin. Susa was wantonly burnt, and Asti also submitted to the German multitude. But the grand object of attack was the new city of Alessandria, which had arisen as a monument of the Emperor's former disgrace, and was just raised by the Pope into an episcopal see.[39] Being joined by the Pavians and the Marquis of Montferrat, he sat down to besiege the town, in full expectation of an easy conquest. Its reduction appeared the more certain, since no walls had as yet been erected, and its chief protection consisted in the deep ditch which entrenched it.[40] But the zeal and bravery of the citizens were themselves sufficient defence: every attempt to surprise the city was baffled; and enraged at the obstinacy of the besieged Frederic resolved to pass the winter under the city, in spite of the torrents of rain which began to fall and deluge the surrounding country. The season was unusually rigorous, and the army suffered severely from the inclemency of the weather. But Frederic was unwearied in his operations; and a secret mine, completely unknown to the besieged, promised shortly to conduct his army into the very heart of the city. In order the more surely to effectuate his design, Frederic employed the treacherous de-

Siege of Alessandria.

[39] Struvius, p. 402.

[40] As to the *walls* of Alessandria, historians are not agreed. Muratori, quoting the Monk Godfrey, denies that there were as yet any;—and Sismondi adopts this statement. Others, however, give it walls; and Raumer, (p. 237) speaks of the walls and towers.

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vice of proclaiming a truce till the ensuing Easter Monday. At midnight two hundred picked soldiers passed through the mine and were ready to penetrate into the city, whilst the Emperor at the head of his forces awaited the confusion, which might enable him to rush unopposed on the panic-struck inhabitants. But at the very moment the first soldiers emerged from the mine the danger was discovered; they were beaten down and buried in the falling earth; and the mouth of the mine was securely closed upon them. Then fired by indignation and success the Alessandrians sallied from their city, and by a sudden assault threw the imperial camp into rout and confusion. A dreadful carnage ensued; the besieging engines were burnt and destroyed; and the army only preserved itself from destruction by a precipitous flight.[41]

Thursday before Easter. 1175.

Defeat of Frederic at Alessandria.

The affairs of Frederic were now desperate; and to complete his difficulties, he learned that the army of the League was at hand. It consisted of the united forces of Milan, Brescia, Verona, Novara, Vercelli, Treviso, Padua, Vicenza, Mantua, Bergamo, Placentia, Parma, Reggio, Modena, and Ferrara; that famous League of Lombardy, bound in solemn compact for the general cause of freedom. On Easter Monday the hostile armies met, and the conflict seemed about to commence, when the Lombards, instead of striking the decisive blow, suffered themselves to be deluded by proposals of accommodation. The Emperor promised to refer

[41] Sismondi, tom. II. p. 200.

the grievances of the allies to approved arbitrators; both armies hastily withdrew, the Emperor to Pavia, the Leaguers to Placentia; and as they retreated they were met by the forces of Cremona, whose indecision had at length yielded to the common cause. But the allies soon perceived their folly which had thus permitted Frederic to escape them: the remainder of the year passed without any symptoms of redress; the troops of the Emperor received continued re-inforcements; and early in the following year an immense army was spread over the plains of Como. The alacrity of the allies now atoned for their former errour: without loss of time they united their forces; and in the month of May they encountered the German host between Legnano and the Tesino.

Battle of Legnano. 29th May, 1176.

At the beginning of the battle, fortune seemed to declare for the Emperor. The Milanese cavalry overpowered by the numbers of the enemy were beaten back upon the main body of the army; and Frederic impetuously pressed forward to the spot where the Carroccium was stationed. But as this sacred standard was surrounded by the flower of the army, he was completely foiled in his endeavours to pierce their ranks, and beaten back with loss and confusion. Meanwhile new arrivals constantly added strength to the allies, and the prodigies of valour performed by Frederic were incompetent to animate his flagging soldiers. At length he himself was thrown from his horse, and the immediate report of his death decided the fate

Defeat of Frederic.

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of the day; the rout became general; the Germans fled in every direction; and their camp was abandoned to the conquerors. The imperial chest and equipage fell into the hands of the leaguers, who thus became possessed of the most precious articles, and of the enormous treasure which had been accumulated for their destruction. Frederic escaped by the greatest acts of prowess; the last to fly, he cut his passage through the enemy, and reached Pavia in safety. But the rumour of his death prevailed for many days; the Empress, who had remained at Como, abandoned herself to despair; and the victors unceasingly sought for his body amidst the heaps of slain. In this memorable battle, which achieved the liberty of Lombardy, we may allow that the Germans were inferior in number without detracting from the valour of the confederates; and the subsequent conduct of the Emperor sufficiently countenances those who assert the annihilation of his army.[42]

The defeat at Legnano crushed the hopes of Frederic. Army after army had been poured into Italy; the German Princes grew weary of these fruitless expeditions, and many had already declined to accompany the Emperor. For the preservation of his shattered authority some measures of conciliation became necessary; and from his retreat at Pavia he despatched four holy ministers to Anagni in order to negotiate with the Pope. Alexander

[42] Murat. Ann. 1174–1176.—Gian. ub. sup.—Sismondi, tom. II. p. 197–210.

required that the Lombard confederacy and the King of Sicily should be included in the treaty, and that all Italy should benefit by the pacification. Upon these terms he expressed his willingness to meet the Emperor, and Venice was at length fixed upon as the place of meeting. Frederic bound himself by the most solemn oaths to respect the person of the Pope; yet so distrustful was Alexander of the imperial faith, that in securing for himself a favourable reception from the Venetians, he stipulated that Frederic should not be permitted to enter the city until authorized by the papal licence.[43]

Alexander accordingly repaired to Venice.[44] His first object was to obtain from the Emperor a recognition of his being the true and only vicar of Christ; the next object was to provide for the security of the allies. But though Frederic was ready to accede to the first, he was pertinaciously resolved to resist the second proposition, which was

[43] It was on this visit to Venice that the Pope granted to that state the empire of the Adriatic, whence originated the annual marriage of the Doge with that Sea. Daru, tom. I. p. 245. This appears better authenticated than the account which carries back the marriage ceremony to the end of the tenth century.

[44] No portion of modern history has been more loaded with fiction than this congress of Venice; and the Venetian historians have laboured to prove that the peace of Italy was produced by their countrymen defeating the fleet of Frederic, and taking prisoner his son *Otho*, though it does not appear Frederic ever had such a son. It has also been pretended that the Pope was driven into exile to Zara, and forced to assume the disguise of a cook. See several curious passages collected by M. Daru, in a note to the third book of his valuable history of Venice, tom. I. p. 237. also Sismondi, tom. II. p. 214. note (2) and Raumer, vol. II. p. 252, who follow Muratori in rejecting these fables.

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intended to secure the independence of Lombardy. A series of negociations promised little agreement until Frederic arrived at Chiozza; and the Pope became alarmed at the nearness of his approach, and the tumultuous cries of the Venetians that he should be received into their city. The permanent liberties of the Lombards were therefore given up for a temporary suspension of hostilities: it was at last agreed that the Emperor should acknowledge the Pope: that he should grant a truce of six years to the confederate cities; and to the King of Sicily for fifteen; while on the other hand Alexander consented to relinquish all claim to the estates of the Countess Matilda for the latter period of time.

Treaty of Venice. 1177.

These articles being definitively settled, the Pope repaired on the morning of the 24th of July to the church of St. Mark; and the Doge, with the Bucentaur and other vessels, escorted the Emperor from the Lido to Venice. Being met by the cardinals, Frederic solemnly abjured the Antipope and received absolution. At the door of St. Mark's he was met by the Pope arrayed in his pontifical robes; and the contrite Emperor, with every demonstration of penitence, fell prostrate before him and devoutly kissed his feet. Being raised from the ground he received the papal benediction and the kiss of peace; the church resounded with the Te Deum; and within the choir the Emperor again received a blessing. On the following day, the ceremony of holding the stirrup was performed; the peace was finally ratified; and after a solemn council, in which

the wrath of God was invoked upon him who should violate the treaty, all parties set out for their respective homes.[45] By the earnest invitation of the Roman Senate Alexander returned to Rome, upon condition that that body should swear fealty and do homage to the Pope, and restore to him the church of St. Peter, and all the appurtenances of the sovereignty. Afterwards came John, Abbot of Struma, whom the schismatic cardinals had elected on the death of the Antipope Paschall III.; and by humble submission obtained the pardon of the true successor of St. Peter.[46]

End of the Schism. 1178.

On his return to Rome, Alexander, according to a previous intimation, assembled a general Council in the Lateran for the purpose of repressing some growing heresies, and making such regulations as might in future prevent a schism. It was on this occasion that the election of the Pope was permanently vested in the College of cardinals to the exclusion of the Roman people; a measure, which though already attempted, and on some occasions successfully, had never been completely established.[47] Alexander survived his double triumph but a short period: if he was unfortunate in living in an age of turbulence and distraction, he was

Third Council of the Lateran. 1179.

Election of the Pope vested in the cardinals.

Death of Alexander III. 1181.

[45] Dupin, vol. X. c. IX. [46] Struvius, p. 404-407.

[47] According to Giannone (Lib. IV. c. 12.), the word *Cardinal* originally denoted no dignity, but merely that the person was *incardinate* (inzeppato) of a particular church; and such persons were to be chosen bishops of their respective churches, unless no fit incardinate person could be found; in which case the Canons permitted the election of a stranger. And see Muratori, Italian Antiquities, Dissert. LXII.

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surely signally happy in escaping every disaster which threatened him; and his chief merits appear to have been the patience with which he conducted himself in adversity, and the dexterity with which he improved every favourable circumstance. He was succeeded by Ubald, Bishop of Ostia, who took the title of Lucius III.[48]

Lucius III. 1181-1185.

The Lombard confederates might justly complain that in the treaty of Venice their interests had been compromised or forgotten, and that the Pope had reaped the harvest which had been sown by their toil and moistened by their blood. The truce of fifteen years granted to William II. was an invidious distinction, which would leave them at the end of their short respite deprived of their royal, as well as papal, supporter. But Frederic had been taught to appreciate the undaunted constancy of the league, which had defied his wrath and circumscribed his ambition. New objects engaged the attention of the Emperor; his vengeance was directed to another quarter, and he grew anxious to secure to his son Henry the peaceful possession of the kingdom of Italy. At the expiration of the six years' truce, the Lombards obtained those terms of peace which they might have been content to dictate in the hour of victory. By the peace of Constance, the supreme dominion and an appellant jurisdiction were reserved to the Emperor; but the cities of Lombardy were restored to their ancient liberties; the free possession

Peace of Constance. 1183.

[48] Murat. Ann. 1177-1181.—Gian. Lib. XIII. c. I.

of their revenues; the choice of their magistrates; the exercise of civil and criminal justice; and the right of fortifying their walls and raising armies. From these important concessions some slight deduction might be easily endured: substantially they obtained what they had so meritoriously contended for; and even some cities, who from apathy or baseness had neglected to join the confederacy, now received the benefit of its struggles in the cause of universal freedom. In the treaty were included as confederates, Vercelli, Novara, Milan, Lodi, Bergamo, Brescia, Mantua, Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Treviso, Bologna, Faenza, Modena, Reggio, Parma, and Placentia. The Emperor retained as his allies, Pavia, Cremona, Como, Tortona, Asti, Alessandria, Genoa, and Albi. A right was reserved to Ferrara to accede to the treaty within two months; whilst Imola, Castro-San-Cassiano, Bobbio, Grabedone, Feltre, Belluno, and Ceneda, were expressly excluded. The entire omission of the name of Venice is strong proof of her independence.[49]

But before the conclusion of this peace which the valour of the Lombards had extorted from him, Frederic resolved to revenge himself upon those of the German Princes, whose defection had deprived him of that overwhelming multitude which might have at once crushed the Italian leaguers. His wrath was principally directed against Henry the Lion, who, nearly connected by blood, and

[49] Murat. Ann. 1183.—Sismondi, Rep. Ital. tom. II. p. 232 (n).

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indebted to him for the re-establishment of his fortunes, had refused to attend him on his fifth expedition, notwithstanding his earnest and undignified entreaties.[50] Having been vainly cited before three several Diets, the contumacious Henry was declared guilty of lese-majesty, and deprived of all his honours, fiefs, and heritages. His vast estates were immediately seized by the greedy nobles, who eagerly assisted in his downfall; and nothing was left him but the allodial lands of his house in Brunswick and Lunenburg. After an ineffectual struggle to maintain himself in arms, he was compelled to submit to the mercy of the Emperor, and received pardon upon condition of retiring from Germany for seven years; which period was subsequently, through the mediation of the Pope, reduced to three.[51]

Ruin of Henry X. Duke of Bavaria. 1182.

In the year 1184 Frederic made a progress into Italy, and visiting the principal towns of Lombardy

[50] Frederic is said to have even prostrated himself before Henry. See Schmidt, vol. II. p. 635. and Raumer, vol. II. p. 242.

[51] Struvius, p. 410—Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 304.—Schmidt, vol. II. p. 639.—Raumer, p. 272. On this occasion, Westphalia was united to the Archbishopric of Cologne: the Dutchy of Saxony was given to Bernard of Ascania, youngest son of Albert the Bear, Margrave of Brandenburg; Bavaria was conferred on Otho of Wittelsbach, from whose ancestor it had been wrested by Otho I. After his three years' exile, Henry the Lion returned to Germany, and his allodial estates in Saxony were restored to him. These, fifty years afterwards, became the two dutchies of the house of Brunswick, the inheritors of the name of Guelph. Hallam, Middle Ages, vol. II. p. 103. When the Emperor departed on the third Crusade in 1188, not choosing to trust Henry in Germany during his absence, he gave him the choice of accompanying him on his expedition, or quitting Germany for three years: Henry took the second alternative. Art de vérif. les Dates, tom. III. p. 402.

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Sixth expedition of Frederic into Italy. 1184.

and Romagna arrived in Tuscany. There the spirit of freedom began to prevail, and the chief cities, under the protection of the Church, were engaged in a struggle with the rural nobility, whose castles and fiefs were in perpetual danger from the people of Florence and the adjacent towns. With the nobles, therefore, Frederic cordially united in depressing the energies of the Tuscan cities; all, with the exception of Pisa and Pistoia, were deprived of their territory without the walls; and this territory was subjected to the imperial magistrates. Florence, indeed, soon afterwards obtained some relaxation of this rigorous decree; and the readiness of her citizens to join the crusades, and the important part they performed in the siege of Damietta, were rewarded in 1188 with the restoration of their territorial jurisdiction ten miles round the city.[52]

The Emperor was meanwhile eagerly engaged in securing to his son Henry the succession of the crown of Sicily.—William II. had married Joan, daughter of Henry II. King of England: but no issue sprang from the marriage;[53] and as there remained no legitimate male descendant of King Roger, the kingdom was destined to devolve upon Constantia, the daughter of that prince. To secure this fair inheritance in the south of Italy became the grand object with Frederic: and by the mar-

[52] Murat. Ann. 1185.—Giov. Villani, Lib. V. c. 12. 13.

[53] Boccaccio (Gior. IV. Nov. IV.) has gratuitously given to William a son named Roger, and a grandson named Gerbino.

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riage of his son with the Sicilian heiress, he promised himself the means of hemming in the states of the Church, and establishing the power of the house of Hohenstaufen in the south, as well as in the north. The overtures of the Emperor were not rejected by the Norman prince. But Pope Lucius III. who dreaded the consequences of this marriage eagerly opposed it; and though, before he could take any steps to overthrow the schemes of the Emperor, death cut him off, his successor Urban III. saw the matter in the same light, and shewed himself a bitter opponent of Frederic and his son. He refused to bestow the imperial crown on Henry, alledging that the Empire could not have two Emperors: he called upon Frederic to give up to the holy see the estates of Matilda; and to forbear meddling with property of dead prelates, and with matters of right belonging to the Church. Notwithstanding these obstacles the marriage between Henry and Constantia[54] was celebrated in Milan with the utmost splendour; the Archbishop of Aquileia crowning the prince, and a German bishop the princess. Willing to avoid an open rupture with the Church, Frederic called together the bishops at Gelnhausen; and so forcibly appealed to them in behalf of the imperial rights,

Urban III. 1185-1187.

Marriage of Henry King of the Romans with Constantia of Sicily. 1186.

[54] According to some traditions, Constantia was drawn from a convent for her marriage. To this Dante alludes;

"Uomini poi, a mal più che a bene usi,
Fuor mi rapiron della dolce chiostra."

Parad. c. III. v. 106.

See the question discussed by Bayle, art. Henry VI. note B.

that they almost unanimously undertook to write to the Pope, and bring about an accommodation.[55] At this moment the news of the taking of Jerusalem by Saladin threw all parties into consternation; and William, Archbishop of Tyre, after inlisting the King of France and England, succeeded in adding the Emperor to the number of the crusaders. At a Diet held at Mentz Frederic assumed the cross, together with his son Frederic, Duke of Swabia, Leopold V. Duke of Austria, Berthold, Duke of Moravia, and a host of nobles and prelates.[56]

Frederic joins the third Crusade. 1188.

The German warriors assembled at Presburg, traversed Bulgaria, and crossed the Hellespont. Having eluded the treachery of the Greeks and repulsed the attacks of the Turks, they became masters of Iconium and other cities; though not without severe losses from the rigour of the season, the horrours of the desert, and the miseries of disease and famine.[57] After successfully braving these difficulties, the gallant Frederic was triumphantly advancing towards Jerusalem, when his course was suddenly cut short by a fate little worthy his glorious achievements. The clear waters of the river Salef in Cilicia invited him to plunge into its refreshing stream; and we may ascribe the death of the hero to the rapidity and depth of the current, or to its chilling and feverish effects.[58]

His death. 1190.

[55] Murat. Ann.—Giannone, Lib. XIII. c. 2.—Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 308.—Schmidt, vol. II. p. 644.—Raumer, vol. II. p. 313.

[56] Michaud, Hist. des Croisades, tom. II. p. 329.

[57] Struvius, p. 414.—Pfeffel, p. 309.—and see Gibbon, vol. IX. p. 114.

[58] Murat. Ann. 1190.—Schmidt, vol. II. p. 647. Neither the river, nor

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Frederic died in his sixty-ninth year, and in the thirty-eighth of his reign. Under him the imperial authority resumed its ancient vigour; for while he affected to be guided by the German Diets, he contrived to exclude those Princes who were hostile to his views; and submitted his designs to those only over whom his influence was certain to prevail. He omitted no occasion for undermining the power of the nobles by the partition of fiefs and the enfranchisement of dependent cities. He zealously inculcated the doctrines of the Roman law, and encouraged the introduction of a system into Germany which taught the universal dominion of the sovereign. Whilst he diligently re-established the imperial finances, he dazzled his subjects by the magnificence of his court; and by his personal bravery he preserved respect and admiration amidst all his reverses.[59]

By his second wife, Beatrice of Burgundy, he left five sons and a daughter. Of the sons, Henry and Philip successively wore the crown of Germany; his second son Frederic V. Duke of Swabia accompanied him to Palestine; and after his death assumed the command of his army, and died before Acre. With the younger Frederic the celebrated Order of the Teutonic Knights of the holy Virgin had its origin; it was founded upon the same principles as the orders of the Hospital and the Temple;

Teutonic Knights.

the manner of Frederic's death, is agreed upon. Struvius and others make the Salef the Cydnus; Gibbon, Michaud, and Raumer, the Calycadnus.

[59] Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 309.

and was confined to Germans of noble birth, who dedicated themselves to war against the infidels, and to the care of the sick and wounded. The institution was immediately confirmed by Pope Celestine III.; and after being compelled to abandon the East, the arms of the Teutonic knights were successfully turned against the idolatrous Prussians.[60]

[60] Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 309. 343.—Schmidt, vol II. p. 647.

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REIGNS OF HENRY VI., PHILIP, AND OTHO IV.

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Henry VI. 1190-1197.

THE departure of the Emperor Frederic for the holy land was immediately followed by the death of William II. King of Sicily, whose amiable character had restored happiness to his subjects, and left them to deplore his premature end at the age of thirty-six. That event, indeed, was the signal for the misery of thousands; and the Sicilians had reason to curse the policy which had united the heiress of the crown to the King of the Romans. Upon the death of William, Henry VI. laid claim, in virtue of his marriage, to the kingdom of Sicily: but the German name was odious to the people, and the pretensions of a bastard prevailed over the right of the legitimate heiress. Tancred, Count of Lecce, was the undoubted son of Roger, the first-born of Roger, King of Sicily;[1] but he sprang from an union of his father with the daughter of Robert, Count of Lecce, which never obtained the sanction of the Church. The partial Sicilians overlooked this omission; Tancred mounted the throne of his grandfather; and his valour and activity silenced the partisans of his legitimate aunt.[2]

Tancred, King of Sicily. 1189.

[1] Appendix, Table XXI.

[2] Hume (Hist. vol. II. p. 9.) calls her Tancred's *sister*. The poet Thomson, in his once popular tragedy, makes her the rival of Sigismunda, and has

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Henry, who was now engaged in Germany by the renewed efforts of Henry the Lion to recover his territories, despatched a force into Italy to secure his succession; and as soon as the Lion had been brought to submission, he himself crossed the Alps for the double purpose of obtaining the imperial crown and reducing the usurper of Sicily. Henry and Constantia were crowned by Pope Celestine III. in St. Peter's, and passed forward into the *Land of Labour*,[3] where the German forces received but little resistance until they arrived at the gates of Naples. Whilst that city held out against the invaders a pestilence broke forth in the German army; and the too liberal indulgence in the delicious fruits of the south conspired with the climate towards the destruction of the northern besiegers. Henry beheld his troops and captains swept off by disease; retreat became necessary; and leaving the Empress with a trusty guard in Salerno he led his enfeebled Germans over the Alps. No sooner had Henry departed than the people of Salerno, anxious to conciliate Tancred, seized upon Constantia as their prisoner, and conducted her to Palermo. The intervention of the Pope soon effected

Henry VI. crowned Emperor. 1191.

Siege of Naples.

altogether taken strange liberties with the genealogy. Le Sage, from whom Thomson borrowed his plot, not only alters the succession, but invents a new royal family: but Le Sage may do anything after making Pontius Pilate *a Jew!* See Gil Blas, Liv. VI. c. 1. The Tancred of Boccaccio is altogether a fictitious person.

[3] *Terra di Lavoro*, originally Campania, or Capua, bounded on the north by the Apennine; on the east by the river Silaro; on the south by the sea; on the west by the Garigliano. The origin of its name is a matter of controversy: the conjectures may be read in Giannone, Lib. XVII. c. 5. s. 1.

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her release; and Tancred transmitted her in safety to Germany.[4]

Imprisonment of Richard I. King of England. 1192.

About this time, the Emperor incurred no slight odium in Europe by his sordid and ungenerous conduct towards King Richard Cœur de Lion of England. That fierce and valiant prince, after his extraordinary feats of prowess in the East, having been shipwrecked on the Italian coast, rashly ventured to make his way through the territories of Leopold V. Duke of Austria, whom he had deeply offended in Palestine. Being recognized in his progress, he was betrayed into the hands of the Duke, who immediately caused him to be thrown into a dungeon and loaded with irons. The Emperor, when apprized of Richard's disgrace, claimed from Leopold his royal prisoner, with the promise of a share of the ransom to be demanded from England for the release of her monarch. He even compelled the king to appear as a criminal before the German princes at Hagenau, and afterwards at Worms; and continued to detain him captive until he extorted from him an engagement to pay a hundred and fifty thousand marks of silver, twenty thousand of which were reserved for the Duke of Austria.[5]

[4] Giannone, Lib. XIV.—Struvius, p. 420.

[5] Struvius, p. 422.—Rapin, tom. II. p. 260.—Michaud, tom. II. p. 442.—Raumer, vol. III. p. 44.—Much of the story of Richard's imprisonment, &c., must pass for mere romance, belonging to his extraordinary wild and irregular character; and it is truly observed by Von Raumer, that the tale told by Michaud of the discovery of his prison by Blondel is evidently a fabrication, because the fact and the place of Richard's imprisonment were no secret. Geschichte der Hohenstaufen, vol. III. p. 40. note.

The death of the eldest son of King Tancred was soon afterwards followed by that of the afflicted father. To Tancred succeeded his second son, William III.; whose tender age invited Henry once more to attempt the reduction of Sicily. With the assistance of Pisa and Genoa, he obtained an easy conquest of the Italian provinces; and passing over to the island, became master of Messina, Palermo, and other principal cities. The widow of Tancred, with the young king and princesses, submitted to the conqueror on the promise of obtaining for herself the county of Lecce, and for her son the principality of Tarento. The hapless William knelt before the Emperor, and resigned the sceptre of the Normans to the house of Swabia. But no sooner was Henry secure of the prize than he gave way to the ferocity of his nature; and signalized the brutality of his mind by violating the repose of the dead, and inflicting the most shocking cruelties on the living. The sepulchres of Tancred and his son were broken open: their bodies stripped of the last trappings of royalty: and under pretence of a conspiracy the young William was arrested and inhumanly mutilated and blinded, and with his mother and sisters doomed to hopeless captivity in Germany. The merciless Emperor appeared intent upon the destruction of the Normans; and the sympathy of Constantia was awakened by the groans of her fellow-countrymen. Satiated at length with the blood and spoils of his new subjects, Henry departed for his native

William III. King of Sicily. 1193.

William III. dethroned. 1195.

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land; and the Sicilians beheld with grief and indignation the treasures of the realm transported from the island to Germany.[6]

The success of the Emperor in obtaining the crown of Sicily encouraged him in the design of rendering the Empire hereditary in his family. He proposed this important change in the Germanic constitution to the assembled states; and as an inducement, offered to unite Sicily to the imperial dominions, to make the great fiefs of Germany hereditary and purely allodial, to lighten the burthens of the clergy, with other tempting stipulations. He even succeeded in obtaining the consent of fifty-two princes, as well as of the Pope; but the vehement opposition of the Saxon princes frustrated his attempt; and he was compelled to rest content with the election of his son Frederic (then not quite three years old) as King of the Romans.[7] He was soon afterwards recalled to Sicily by rebellion; and in the midst of his cruel reprisals was cut off at Messina by disease or poison. The Empress survived him but a few months; and in her last moments she bequeathed her infant son Frederic to the care of Pope Innocent III. With her terminated the Norman dynasty in Sicily, which from the coronation of Roger had endured for a period of sixty eight years.[8]

Election of Frederic, King of the Romans. 1196.

Death of Henry VI. 1197.

And of Constantia. 1198.

End of the Norman dynasty in Sicily.

[6] Struvius, p. 421.——Giannone, Lib. XIV.—Murat. Ann. 1193—1195.

[7] Struvius, p. 425.—Murat. Ann. 1196.

[8] Murat. Ann. 1195—1198.—Giannone, Lib. XIV. c. 1. 2.—and see Gibbon, vol. X. p. 331.

Shortly before his death the Emperor had summoned his brother Philip, Duke of Swabia, into Italy, that he might conduct the young King of the Romans into Germany to celebrate his coronation. But as Philip journeyed through Italy the news of Henry's death met him at Viterbo, and all thoughts of his nephew's coronation were forgotten in the views of his own aggrandisement. He hastily retraced his steps into Germany, and by a liberal distribution of money and promises prevailed upon many of the German princes to elect him as their king. But another faction, superior in authority, though inferior in number, declared themselves in favour of Otho, third son of the unfortunate Henry the Lion, who had the advantage of numbering among his partisans the Archbishop of Cologne, to whom belonged the right of crowning[9] the sovereign. But a far greater accession of strength accrued to Otho by the alliance of Pope Innocent III., one of the most authoritative Pontiffs that ever sat in the chair of St. Peter. After the brief pontificates of Lucius III., Urban III., Gregory VIII., and Clement III., Celestine III. enjoyed a reign of seven years; and his name is chiefly remembered by a foolish story of his kicking the crown from the head of Henry VI. the moment after he had

Philip, King of Germany. 1198.

Lucius III. 1181-1185.
Urban III. 1185-1187.
Gregory VIII. 1187.
Clement III. 1187-1191.
Celestine III. 1191-1198.

[9] The right to crown the sovereign, after being long contested between the Archbishops of Mentz and Cologne (ante p. 89. note), appears to have been settled in the latter about 1054. Pfeffel, p. 199. Accordingly we find in Struvius (p. 378) the Archbishop of Cologne crowning Frederic I., aliis cooperantibus. His predecessor Conrad III. was not crowned by the Archbishop of Cologne, because that prelate had not then received the pallium. ibid. p. 366.

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Innocent III. 1198-1216.

placed it on his brow.[10] The successor of Celestine was destined to exalt the see of Rome to a pitch of authority beyond which it has never reached; and the lofty projects of Gregory VII. were amply realized by Innocent III.

Lothaire, son of Thrasimond, Count of Segna, Cardinal of S. S. Sergius and Bacchus, had not completed his thirty-seventh year when he was elected Pope by a large majority. His comparative youth left the older cardinals nothing to hope; and this might have proved a fatal obstacle to his election, had his merits been less conspicuous, or his character less esteemed. The first act of his reign evinced his intrepidity and decision; and by a single blow he repressed the growing insolence of the Roman senate, and destroyed the imperial authority in Rome. Hitherto the Roman prefect had derived his power from the Emperor, and whatever share the Pope might have in the nomination, to the Emperor alone the oath of fealty was given. The vacancy in the Empire now gave Innocent a favourable opportunity to assert his influence in the city: he compelled the presence of the prefect; extorted his oath of fealty to the see of Rome, and invested him with his office, not by the sword, but by the more peaceful and appropriate delivery of a mantle. From this time the prefects, senate, and magistrates of Rome were content to confine their fealty to the Roman Pontiff.[11]

8th Jan. 1198.

[10] See Struvius, p. 419 note (17.)

[11] According to the MS. of the Abbé Gravina, cited by Gibbon, Miscel.

This abasement of the imperial authority was quickly followed by more important acquisitions. The ancient Patrimony of St. Peter, so pertinaciously claimed by the Pope, and so often seized by the Emperors, had been entirely overrun by the German feudatories of Henry VI. With great promptitude Innocent succeeded in driving out the intruders from the marches of Ancona and Fermo; and the dutchy of Spoleto, the city of Perugia, and many other states, eagerly threw off the German dominion. To increase this disaffection from the imperial cause, most of the cities of Tuscany entered into a league in imitation of the Lombard confederacy, and placed themselves under the immediate protection of Innocent. Pisa, indeed, maintained her attachment to the Emperor: indulged by Frederic I. and his son with immunity from taxation she enjoyed her revenues unmolested, and had nothing to gain by a change; many nobles also who possessed imperial fiefs in Italy remained staunch to their allegiance; and the names of Guelph and Ghibellin began to be heard in Tuscany, the former denoting the partisans of the Pope, the latter those of the Emperor.[12]

In the struggle for the German crown Innocent

Works, vol. V. p. 39. Innocent, at the request of the people, created fifty senators to govern the city; but as they exceedingly abused their power he reduced them to one only, appointed to distribute justice: and he cites Cantilius de Romana Historia.

[12] Murat. Ann. 1198.—Giannone, Lib. XVI., s. 1. It might be supposed that Matteo Villani was ignorant of the origin of these names; since he attempts to derive the term *Guelfi*, from their being *Guardatori di fè*; and *Ghibellini*, from *Guida belli*, i. e. *guidatori di battaglie*. Cronicà, Lib. IV. c. 78.

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War between Philip and Otho of Bavaria.

warmly espoused the cause of Otho, and Philip was denounced as hateful to the Church, as well by his own aggressions as by his consanguinity with the two last Emperors. The contest was long kept up with activity; Otho was early deprived of an ally by the death of Richard I. King of England (his mother's brother); and the support he received from the Pope was counterpoised by the hostility of Philip II. King of France. His cause began rapidly to decline; nor was Philip so elated with success as to neglect conciliating the Pope. Innocent was too well skilled in the art of politics to hazard his credit by vainly attaching himself to a ruined cause, and began to listen with complacency to the submissive addresses of Philip. At his instigation the rivals met at Cologne; and as an inducement to forego his claim to the crown, Philip offered to Otho the hand of his daughter Beatrice, together with the dutchy of Swabia and an enormous dowry. These offers were, however, rejected; and either party was ready to renew the contest, when Philip was basely murdered by Otho, Count Palatine of Wittelsbach; who in revenge for a private injury entered the royal palace at Bamberg, and demanding an audience of the King laid him dead by a single blow.[13] The assassin for the moment baffled the efforts of the attendants to seize him: but his estates were formally confiscated, and he himself was afterwards taken and slain.[14]

Murder of Philip. 1208.

[13] Struvius, p. 438.—Pfeffel, p. 327. Raumer, vol. III. p. 136. 140.

[14] Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 330.

Though this blow might not displease Otho, his character has never been stained with the slightest imputation of having been privy to the murder. The German princes immediately hailed him as their sovereign, and he was united to Beatrice, the daughter of the late King. Being now restored to the favour of Innocent, he prepared for proceeding to Rome; and in order to secure the imperial crown, promised to restore to the church of Rome all the lands and privileges to which she had been entitled since the time of Louis the Debonaire.[15] He was honourably welcomed in Verona, Modena, and Bologna, and at Milan received the iron crown. At Viterbo he was met by Innocent, who conducted him to the Vatican: and in St. Peter's he was crowned Emperor with all the accustomed ceremonies.

Otho IV. King of Germany.

He is crowned Emperor. 1209.

But before the Pope consented to bestow the imperial crown, he obtained from the Emperor-elect his signature to a written capitulation, which shook his authority in ecclesiastical affairs to the foundation. Not content with extorting an oath of obedience to the holy see and the defence of its privileges, Innocent hereby bound the Emperor to correct all abuses in the choice of the German prelates; to permit the elections to be conducted according to the ordinances of the Church; and to throw no obstacle in the way of appeals to Rome.

[15] From Radicofani to Ceperano, the march of Ancona, the dutchy of Spoleto, the estates of Matilda, the county of Bertinoro, the exarchate of Ravenna, and the Pentapolis. Murat. Ann. 1209.

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In this capitulation, the first of its kind, the greatest care was taken that all should be general and undefined; so that it was admirably adapted to assist the Popes in their future encroachments on the imperial prerogative. Otho moreover undertook to resign to the Church an important source of revenue, the property of deceased prelates and the income of the see during a vacancy, which had hitherto been claimed by the successors of Charlemagne.[16]

Immediately after the coronation, the long-cherished antipathy of the Romans to the Germans broke out into open conflict; and the new Emperor, after the destruction of many of his followers, withdrew in dudgeon from Rome. Between the Pope and Emperor all oaths were forgotten; the disturbed state of Apulia invited Otho to its invasion; and he soon became master of the greater part of the southern provinces of Italy. But whilst the German monarch was lured to these distant conquests, his own ruin was in preparation at home. The South was sacred ground to Innocent; since the Empress Constantia had, in her last moments, made him the guardian of her infant son Frederic, the heir to the crown of Sicily.[17] He had already experienced the greatest difficulties in tranquillizing the Sicilian kingdom; and finding the Emperor deaf to his admonitions, Innocent sent forth his thunders, by which Otho was declared to be deposed from the Empire, and all his subjects absolved from

Otho excommunicated. 1210.

[16] Schmidt, Book VI. c. 6. Vol. II. p. 680. [17] Giannone, Lib. XV. c. 2.

their allegiance. But Otho was now too busy and triumphant to heed the fury of the Vatican; and having reduced the continent to obedience, he prepared to invade the island. In a moment the visions of conquest disappeared; the unwelcome tidings of confusion and rebellion fell heavily upon his ear; he learned with dismay that the princes and prelates of Germany were rapidly falling off from a monarch, whose brow was blasted by the thunderbolt of God's vicar; and he recognized his enemy Philip of France fanning the flame in his dominions. His dismay was consummated by the loud and frequent cries which called upon the young Frederic to seize the imperial crown of his ancestors. But he still hoped by his presence to restore obedience: he bad adieu to the fair regions of the South and passed into Germany, where he was quickly convinced that all the evil reports had too substantial a foundation. He had ceased to be a sovereign. By a strange recovery of memory, it had suddenly recurred to the German princes that Frederic was their rightful sovereign; they now remembered that, in the lifetime of his father, he had been elected King of the Romans, and that as such they had actually sworn to obey him. The fulminations of Rome awakened them as from a dream; and they turned away from Otho to hail their lawful sovereign in the person of the King of Sicily.[18]

Frederic, the son of the Emperor Henry VI.

[18] Giann. ub. sup.

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Frederic II. invited to Germany. 1211.

and of Constantia, Princess of Sicily, had barely attained his eighteenth year when he was summoned to the throne of Germany.[19] Young as he was, the care of his guardian Innocent had provided him with a royal bride, Constantia, daughter of Alfonso II. King of Aragon, and widow of Alberic, King of Hungary. Their marriage had been celebrated under the unhappy omen of a pestilence which carried off Alfonso, brother of the Queen, and many other Spaniards. When the German messengers arrived in Sicily to announce to Frederic his destination, the young Queen with tender anxiety besought him to reject the glittering present, lest treachery should be concealed beneath it. For awhile Frederic listened to her timid counsel: but at length the reiterated exhortations of the Pope confirmed his resolution; and he took leave of his Queen and infant (for he was already a father), and embarked for Gaieta. At Rome he was received with rejoicing by the Pope, the Senate, and the people. Passing along unfrequented paths he eluded the snares of Otho, and arrived in safety

[19] A doubt was thrown upon the legitimacy of Frederic on account of Constantia's advanced age at the time of her marriage, and it was said he was a supposititious child. Constantia, however, swore he was her son before Celestine III.—Giannone, who relates the particulars (Lib. XIV. c. I.) makes her age thirty-seven, or at most thirty-nine, at the birth of Frederic, which he places in 1195, although 1194 seems the proper date. According to L'Art de vérifier les Dates, tom. III. p. 812. her mother died in 1151; and her marriage certainly took place in 1186: so that she could not be less than thirty-four at that time; though Raumer (vol. II. p. 311.) makes her only thirty-one. On the other hand Brantôme will have it she was *fifty-two* at the birth of Frederic. See Bayle, art. Henry VI.

at Constance. He was cordially welcomed by the German princes who had invited him; he soon afterwards, in a conference with the Dauphin, established a league with France, and was crowned with great splendour at Aix-la-chapelle by the Archbishop of Mentz.[20]

Frederic II. crowned King. 1215.

Meanwhile the affairs of Otho were fast hastening to a crisis. Supported by John, King of England, the Duke of Brabant, and the Count of Flanders, he met and engaged with the French army at Bouvines near Lisle; and after a desperate battle received a complete overthrow. Thus oppressed by the spiritual arms of Innocent and the superior fortune of Philip, he withdrew to his castle at Hartzburg in Brunswick; where not very long afterwards he peacefully terminated his life.[21]

Battle of Bouvines. 27th July. 1214.

Death of Otho IV. 1218.

Innocent III. had lived to see his royal pupil firmly seated on the throne of Germany, and died in the year 1216. In pursuing the affairs of the Empire, I have abstained from turning aside; but a pause now occurs, when I may properly advert to the character of a Pontiff, perhaps the most powerful that Rome ever beheld. Like his predecessor Gregory VII. he exercised an unbounded authority over the Kings of Europe, who found themselves compelled to yield, even in the tenderest

Death of Innocent III. 1216.

His character.

[20] Struvius, p. 451.

[21] Pfeffel, ub. sup.—Père Daniel, tom. IV. p. 211-222.—Murat. Ann.—Gian. Lib. XV. c. 3. and Lib. XVI.—Frederic deprived Henry, brother of Otho, of all his dominions in Germany except Brunswick, which still appertains to the Kings of England, the lineal descendants of Henry, father of Otho. Murat. Ann. 1218.

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point. Alfonso IX. King of Leon, had married his cousin Theresa, daughter of Sancho I. King of Portugal, but was immediately excommunicated by Innocent, and only purchased absolution by the repudiation of his Queen. [1] It is a little singular, or perhaps suspicious, that in a second marriage he fell into a similar mistake. He espoused Berengara, daughter of his first cousin Alfonso VIII. King of Castile, a marriage which was also dissolved by Innocent.[22] Over the proud and undaunted Philip II. King of France, Innocent in like manner triumphed. That monarch had been induced to select his second wife from Denmark, Ingelburga, the sister of King Canute VI.[23] The morning after his marriage, the court of France was astonished by Philip's determination to put away his bride: no one endeavoured to penetrate the mystery; but a discovery was pretended, that the Danish princess was related to the King within the forbidden degrees. Accordingly the ceremony of divorce was formally gone through; the unqueened damsel was left at liberty to return to her native wilds. But Ingelburga, who seems to have approved of the nuptial experiment, demurred to this proceeding; and exerted her small skill in the French tongue to intimate her intention of appeal-

[22] Mariana, Lib. XI. c. 19. 23.—The states of Castile, however, afterwards ventured to decree the issue of this marriage legitimate; and in the year 1230 Ferdinand III. united in himself the paternal and maternal crowns of Leon and Castile. Ibid.

[23] Philip's ancestor Henry I. had sought a queen in Russia: but the wife of Henry might boast an imperial descent. See Gibbon, vol. X. p. 133.

ing to the court of Rome.[24] To Rome she accordingly appealed, but without effect; Celestine III. was satisfied with Philip's proofs of consanguinity, and confirmed the sentence of the French tribunal. Thus released from his Danish thraldom, Philip sought a bride in a more temperate region, and soon united himself to Agnes, daughter of the Duke Merania. But Innocent III. viewed the matter very differently from his predecessor. He began by admonishing the King to put away his new wife; and after thoroughly satisfying himself of Philip's injustice, commanded him, under pain of his own excommunication and an interdict upon his kingdom, to dismiss Agnes and restore Ingelburga, at the same time reminding him of the papal censures on Lothaire, King of Lorraine.[25] Philip in vain attempted to tamper with the Pope: Innocent was inexorable; and after the expiration of a limited period, the thunderbolt was launched upon Philip and his people. At length the tardy submission of the King released the afflicted French from the miseries of the interdict: he agreed to receive back his dishonoured Queen; but obtained from the Pope a promise to review the whole proceeding. Despairing, however, of the event, he cut short the matter by consenting unconditionally to restore Ingelburga, who thenceforward enjoyed in a prison the title of Queen. The deepest wound in a female

[24] "Male France! male France!—Rome! Rome!" was her exclamation, when the sentence of divorce was interpreted to her. Anquetil, Hist. de France, tom. II. p. 252.

[25] Ante p. 72.

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heart is the success of a rival. Agnes, bereft of her crown, her chastity, and her husband, sank under the accumulated misfortune, which no sin of her's had incurred; and died a martyr to the heartless levity of a King, and rigid austerity of a priest.

1201.

A more signal triumph was obtained by Innocent over the usurper John of England, who by the surrender of his kingdom to the Pope sealed his own degradation, and endangered the infant liberty of England. Besides this extorted submission, he received the voluntary homage of other monarchs, who courted the protection of his name and influence. Andrew II. King of Hungary, demanded and obtained the permission of Innocent to transfer the crown of Galicia to his second son Coloman.[26] John also, the restorer of the ancient kingdom of Bulgaria, besought the favour of the Pope, and received the confirmation of the royal title, together with the privilege of coining money.[27] But the most extraordinary act of gratuitous submission was the journey of Peter II. King of Aragon to Rome, where he caused himself to be crowned by Innocent; and having surrendered his kingdom to the holy see received it back as a fief from the Pope, to be held by an annual tribute; a measure extremely obnoxious to his indignant subjects.[28]

To great acquirements in the learning of the age Innocent may fairly lay claim; and his election

[26] Art de vérifier les Dates, tom. II. p. 54. [27] Gibbon, vol. XI. p. 184.
[28] Mariana, Lib. XI. c. 21.—Giannone, Lib. XV. c. 4.

on the very day of his predecessor's death indicates the ascendancy which his superior mind had acquired over his elder brethren. He was profoundly versed in the civil law, and regarded as the fittest arbitrator between princes, as well as subjects; an advantageous circumstance for the Roman church, ever anxious to draw to itself the settlement of the disputes of Christendom. Under the dominion, indeed, of this ambitious pontiff, the see of Rome arrived at an unprecedented pitch of temporal authority and splendour. With no less extravagant notions of the papal dignity than his predecessor Gregory VII., Innocent was more fortunate in making good his assumptions of supremacy, and experienced but slight resistance from those most concerned in thwarting his pretensions. Though many of his claims to jurisdiction over the princes of Europe may be ascribed to a desire of enhancing the pontifical power, some appear to have sprung from blameless and disinterested motives; and we must applaud his attempt to wring from the Duke of Austria the ransom so dishonourably extorted by his father from Richard of England,[29] and his successful interference in behalf of the almost forgotten family of Tancred, King of Sicily.[30]

It has been said by a great master of irony, that "Innocent may boast of the two most signal triumphs over sense and humanity, the establishment of Transubstantiation and the origin of the

[29] Rapin. tom. III. p. 268.

[30] Murat. Ann 1198.

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Inquisition."[31] However senseless the former may appear to protestant or *philosophic* ears, Innocent cannot be charged with originating the doctrine,[32] though he undoubtedly was mainly instrumental in rendering it a fundamental article of the Church.[33] Happy had it been for his memory did the charge of originating the inquisition rest on no better foundation. It was, indeed, Pope Innocent III. who set that detestable machine in motion; and, with a mistaken zeal for religion, he persecuted the Albigenses of France, and inculcated the merciless extirpation of heresy and heretics by fire and sword. Content at first with the milder efforts of persuasion, the murder of his legate drove him to sterner measures, and he set on foot a crusade against these misguided Christians as against the infidel Saracens.[34] The renowned *Friar* Dominic de Guzman and others received commission to *inquire* into the number and quality of the heretics, and eradicate their heresies; and the zeal with which he performed his task was rewarded by the title of Inquisitor-general.[35] Innocent lived only to lay the foundation stone of

[31] Gibbon, vol. XI. p. 152. [32] Mosheim, vol. II. p. 339. cent. IX. part. 2.

[33] In the fourth Lateran Council, Ann. 1215.

[34] Milner's Church History, vol. III. p. 485.

[35] Giannone, Lib. XV. c. 4. tom. V. p 233. Dominic, however, was not an *Inquisitor* in its most odious meaning; he *sought out* the offender, but did not possess authority to punish heresy. This judicial and secular authority was not given to the inquisitors prior to the pontificate of Gregory IX. Mosheim, vol. III. p. 270. note [g] by Maclaine. Alban Butler absolves Dominic from *all* participation in the murder of the heretics; and gives an account of his miracles, and particularly of his raising several dead men. Vol. VIII. August 4. About the same time that Dominic instituted

the Inquisition; nor did the structure rise to its gigantic height till long after his dissolution. But the furies of persecution were let loose by his hand; the blood which dyed the vallies of Toulouse was shed at his injunction; and his character is darkened by atrocious murders perpetrated in the name of Religion.

the Order of Dominican friars, Francis founded the Order of Franciscans, or Lesser Brothers; and these, with others afterwards instituted, formed a powerful bulwark to the church of Rome. For the rise and progress of the Carmelites, Augustines, and other mendicant orders, see Mosheim, vol. III. pp. 73. and 199. and Raumer, vol. III. p. 582.

CHAPTER XII.

REIGN OF FREDERIC II.

CHAPTER XII.

THE death of Otho IV. left Frederic II. in undisputed possession of the German throne. It now remained to obtain the imperial crown; and a negociation was entered into for that purpose with Honorius III. who had succeeded Innocent in the holy see. The exactions of the Pope were sufficiently exorbitant. He stipulated that Frederic should abandon the kingdom of Sicily to his son Henry, so as to prevent the union of the Sicilian crown with that of the Empire; and he required that the new Emperor should immediately quit his dominions, and lead an expedition into Palestine in aid of the crusaders. To these conditions Frederic expressed his readiness to submit; and further secured his good reception in Rome by reverential addresses to Honorius, and exhortations to the senate and people to obey the Pope as their spiritual father. Before he quitted Germany, however, he summoned the young Henry to Frankfort, where he caused a Diet to elect him King of the Romans.[1]

Honorius III. Pope. 1216-1227.

1220.

[1] Murat. Ann. 1220.—Henry was crowned King of the Romans at Aix la Chapelle in 1222 by the title of Henry VII. Struvius, p. 453.—Pfeffel, p. 344. The latter remarks that this Prince was the *first* heir presumptive,

With a numerous army Frederic, accompanied by his Queen Constantia, entered Italy, and halted at Verona. Passing through Bologna he proceeded to Rome; where he was received by Honorius with the utmost magnificence, and both himself and his Queen were crowned by the Pope.[2] On this occasion the Emperor renewed his vows of obedience and attachment to the holy see; and swearing to devote himself to the Christian cause in Palestine received the Cross from the Cardinal Ugolinó, Bishop of Ostia. These ceremonies ended, he withdrew from Rome into Calabria, where his presence was made necessary by disorder and rebellion.

Frederic II. crowned Emperor. 22d Nov. 1220.

The good understanding between the Pope and the Emperor was of no long continuance. Frederic occupied with the tumults of the South shewed no alacrity to depart for Palestine, and Honorius grew urgent. The unfortunate loss of Damietta,[3] which the Christians had but recently acquired,

elected and crowned in the life-time of the Emperor, who bore the title of "King of the Romans." According, however, to Struvius (p. 425.) Frederic II. was *elected* King of the Romans before his father's death (ante, p. 274); and Pfeffel himself so styles Otho III., Henry IV., and several other *heirs*, and particularly mentions Henry VI., as being both elected and crowned in 1169 (p. 302), though his father Frederic I. lived until 1190 — We have already seen that Henry II. was the first *reigning* prince of Italy who styled himself King of the Romans. Ante, p. 130. note.

[2] Honorius III. enjoyed the remarkable distinction of crowning the Emperors both of the East and West. On the 9th of April 1217, he crowned Peter of Courtenay, in the church of San Lorenzo *without the walls of Rome*; a spot selected lest a coronation *within* the walls might found a claim by the eastern Emperor to the capital of the West. The unfortunate Peter withdrew to the East to seek in Epirus a prison and a grave. Gibbon, vol. XI. p. 268.

[3] Gibbon, vol. XI. p. 153.

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made Frederic's departure of the utmost importance, and he now silenced the clamours of the Pope by a promise to sail immediately on the expedition. But the insurrection of the Saracens who were settled in Sicily, and the death of the Empress Constantia, furnished him with new excuses; and the Christians on their return from the abortive crusade found the Emperor still inactive. At length, a marriage being negociated between Frederic and Yolande, daughter of John de Brienne, King of Jerusalem, the recovery of the holy city from the hands of the infidels became a matter of personal interest; but as the kingdom of the Sicilies still remained in agitation, he obtained from Honorius a respite of two years. He bound himself by the most solemn oaths, under pain of excommunication, to depart at the expiration of that time; and, the bride being brought from Palestine, the imperial marriage was splendidly solemnized at Brundusium. In the mean time, however, John de Brienne had himself entered into a second marriage with Berengara, daughter of Alfonso IX. King of Leon:[4] he took offence therefore at Frederic's adding to his titles that of King of Jerusalem in his own lifetime; and by this premature step the Emperor found in his new connexion a bitter and implacable foe.

Evasion of his oath. 1221.

Every thing now threatened a speedy rupture between the Emperor and the Pope. The ex-

[4] Giannone, (Lib. XVI. c. 2.) calls her daughter of Alfonso IX. of *Castile*, and *widow* of Alfonso, King of Leon.

actions of the former from the clergy had become a constant subject of remonstrance from Honorius; and Frederic, in his turn, complained of the Pope's interference in the spiritual matters of his kingdom. But as the two years were fast drawing to a termination, and Frederic felt no inclination to fulfil his vow, he avoided an open breach, and replied to the objurgations of Honorius by submissive and conciliatory letters. His presence indeed could now ill be spared from Italy; the Lombard cities were in commotion, and a new league had been set on foot; whilst the factious proceedings of Parenzio and the senate had compelled Honorius to remove from Rome to Tivoli. The Emperor, therefore, found no great difficulty in procuring an extension of his term; and the month of August 1227 was fixed for the departure of the projected expedition: new oaths ratified the engagement; and the terrours of excommunication awaited its infringement.

1225.

Thus respited from the hateful enterprise, Frederic resolved to crush the Lombard disaffection; and removing to Ravenna, summoned his son Henry from Germany, to join him with a powerful force. The young King of the Romans accordingly advanced as far as Trent; but finding the passes strongly occupied by the enemy, who were determined to dispute his passage, he deemed it prudent to retreat; and the Emperor, thus deprived of the expected reinforcement, converted his warlike intentions into threats and interdictions.

Expedition into Lombardy. 1226.

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After holding an assembly at Cremona he retired to his Apulian dominions, where he learned the death of Honorius, which took place in March, 1227.[5]

Gregory IX. 1227-1241.

This change in the papal chair worked no advantage to Frederic. The new Pope, Gregory IX., was the identical cardinal Ugolino, who had formerly delivered the Cross into the hands of the Emperor, and he was perplexed by new exhortations to complete his vow. He therefore began seriously to prepare for his voyage: a vast crowd of German nobles and prelates hastened to join him in Apulia: and the shores of Brundusium were thronged with a motley host of various nations. But the scorching rays of the sun quickly converted the camp into a pest-house: the army was thinned by disease and desertion; and the Emperor himself was not untouched by the infection.

Abortive expedition for Palestine. 1227.

At length on the appointed day in August, he embarked with an army forty thousand strong, and set sail for the holy land. But scarcely had the crusaders lost sight of the Italian coast ere Frederic gave orders for their return; and after being at sea for three days the fleet again anchored in the harbour of Brundusium. Adverse winds, and above all the Emperor's disease increased by the violence of the sea, were assigned as the causes of this sudden return; but there were not wanting whispers and insinuations injurious to the good faith of Frederic.[6]

[5] Giannone, Lib. XVI. c. 1. 2. 5.

[6] M. de Sismondi states this embarkation, but omits the departure and

Nothing could exceed the fury of the Pope at the news of this transaction. Nearly* allied by blood to his imperious predecessor Innocent, Gregory resolved to imitate his promptitude and decision; and in a solemn assembly at Anagni he thundered forth that excommunication, which Frederic had consented to incur as the penalty of his broken vow. The suddenness of this proceeding, without any citation, was an unexpected blow to the Emperor. As a remedy for his real, or a colour for his pretended, illness, he repaired to the salutary baths of Pozzuoli, and thence despatched a messenger to the Pope to excuse himself for his return, and solemnly to assure his holiness of the reality and severity of his disease. But excuses were urged in vain: Gregory treated the whole as a contrivance to evade his oath; and in Rome republished the excommunication, laid the kingdom of Sicily under an interdict, and absolved the subjects of Frederic from their allegiance. Finding the Pope inflexible, the Emperor by the hand of his secretary and favourite Pietro delle Vigne, published to the several states of Europe his justification and remonstrance; and as all hopes of conciliation were dispelled, he tried every means to in-

Frederic excommunicated.

sudden return of Frederic, merely affirming that he fell sick before the expedition sailed; so that "il y auroit eu une témérité approchant de la folie à poursuivre une expédition sous des auspices aussi défavorables." Chap. XV. tom. II. p, 444. But the fact of his setting sail, &c. is attested by Villani, Lib. VI. c. 16; and repeated by Giannone, Muratori, Raumer, and other accredited writers; and is important in proving the bad faith of Frederic, and justifying the strong measures of the Pope, which M. Sismondi, in his liberality, vehemently censures.

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flame the senate and people of Rome with hatred and jealousy of their Pontiff. In defiance of the interdict, he commanded his provincial governors to compel the performance of the rites of religion within their several districts, and to prohibit all spiritual persons from deserting their posts without licence: and further to justify himself in the eyes of Europe, he commenced extensive preparations for a new expedition in the ensuing year. At this period his Empress Yolande gave birth to their son Conrad, and immediately afterwards expired.

Frederic sails for Palestine.

On the eleventh of August, 1228, Frederic set sail with twenty gallies bound for the East, and arrived in safety at Acre on the 8th of September.[7] Meanwhile the instigations to revolt which he had scattered through Rome had the desired effect; and Gregory was compelled to seek safety in Perugia. The breach between them being thus widened, the Pope now chose to treat the departure of the Emperor, without first obtaining absolution, as an aggravation of his former contumacy: he solemnly renewed the sentence of excommunication, and anticipated the arrival of Frederic in Palestine by letters to the Patriarch of Jerusalem and to the Master of the Hospital of the Holy Sepulchre, in which the imperial delinquency was duly set forth, and the guilt and danger of intercourse with a person so contaminating as Frederic were exhibited in their strongest light. In Europe, nothing was omitted to compass the ruin of the Emperor. The

[7] Raumer, vol. III. p. 431.

cities of Lombardy were encouraged to rebellion; the most pressing requisitions were sent to France, England, and Spain for troops and money; and a vast army, displaying the banner of the Pope, and commanded by John, King of Jerusalem, entered Apulia, which they ravaged in every direction. A report of Frederic's death was industriously circulated with effect; since it produced the revolt of many Italian towns, and the slaughter of the German inhabitants.

The Pope invades Apulia. 1229.

Whilst these atrocious scenes were acting in his paternal kingdom, Frederic was endeavouring to increase his force in Palestine. But the excommunication and letters of the Pope had poisoned his welcome, and the Knights of the Temple and of the Hospital refused to serve under his auspices. When at length he consented to remove the difficulty by withdrawing his claim to the name of Commander, and allowing the enterprise to be carried on in the name of God and the Christian Republic, he was suddenly alarmed by the tidings of the disastrous state of Italy. Eager to return, he sought and obtained an amicable relation with the Sultan of Egypt, from whom he received the cession of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, Tyre, Sidon and other less noted places, with liberty to construct fortifications, reserving only the Temple, which was dedicated to the worship of the Saracens; and a truce was concluded between them for ten years, with the liberation of all prisoners. Frederic immediately proceeded to Jerusalem; and not deterred by the

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interdict of the Patriarch, which hung over the city ready to fall should he pollute it with his presence, he presumed to enter the tomb of Christ. As no priest could be found hardy enough to crown him, he himself took the diadem from the altar, and placed it upon his head. The threatened interdict now lighted on the contaminated city, and the celebration of divine worship was prohibited in the very sepulchre of the Son of God. In Rome the news of his treaty was received by the papal party with clamours of indignation; the Emperor was accused of impiety in negociating with infidels; and he was charged with the want of complete success, which in reality had been caused by the rashness and vehemence of the Pope.[8]

Frederic crowns himself in Jerusalem;

And returns to Italy.

With a favourable voyage Frederic returned to Italy, and intimating to Gregory the result of his expedition, requested the removal of the spiritual burthen. But Gregory, ignorantly or wilfully confounding the temple with the holy sepulchre, and pretending that in leaving the former to the Saracens he had deserted the cause of Christ, refused to listen to his solicitation. He, therefore, set himself vigorously to quell the disorders of his kingdom;

[8] Giannone, Lib. XVI. c. 6. 7.—Pfeffel, p. 349.—Murat. Ann.—Gibbon, in his fifty-ninth chapter, note (90), has corrected a very material errour relative to the holy sepulchre, which other writers had fallen into. The mosque was built on the site of the temple by the caliph Omar in 637;—the church which encloses the sepulchre was built on Mount Calvary by the Empress Helena, mother of Constantine. Whether or not this spot be really Calvary, is matter of controversy. See Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. II. c. XVI. p 514. 4to.

and his subjects, animated by his presence and reinforced by the return of the crusaders, gallantly fought and drove back the papal troops. The revolted cities gradually returned to their obedience; John, King of Jerusalem, was daily losing ground;[9] and Gregory, alarmed by the success of Frederic, began to hearken to suggestions of accommodation. Terms of peace were at length agreed upon; Frederic consented to pardon all who had taken arms against him; to restore the possessions of the Church; and to grant to the clergy an immunity from taxation: and the peace being thus concluded, he was solemnly absolved from all ecclesiastical censures. At Anagni the Pope and Emperor met, with mutual expressions of respect and esteem; and the spectators were gratified by their apparent cordiality.[10] But under this fair surface lurked the unquenched fires of pride and ambition; the Pontiff secretly exulted in beholding the Emperor at his feet; while Frederic burned to reduce the haughty priest to his spiritual lowliness; to abolish his temporal sway; and to establish in his own supreme power, a successor worthy of the Cæsars.

Peace with Gregory. 1230.

Frederic is absolved.

The despotic hopes of the Swabian Augustus received but little encouragement. His Sicilian subjects, borne down by the weight of his exactions, were soon in open rebellion; in Lombardy a cluster

[9] John became in this same year Emperor of the East: he died 20th March 1237.—Gibbon, vol. XI. p. 273.—Daru. Hist. de Venise, liv. V. s. 8.—Art de vérif. les Dates, tom. I. p. 454.

[10] "Deposto ogni rancore, *almeno in apparenza.*" A prudent reservation of Muratori.

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of confederate cities renewed the league for the assertion of their liberties;[11] the spirit of opposition which had ceased to rage between himself and the holy see was kept alive by the factious Italians; and the fierce quarrels of the Guelphs and Ghibellins[12] agitated every province, and almost every city. To add to these disasters, the execrable work of religious persecution was set on foot; and, at the voice of the Dominican preachers, the Manichæan heretics, without regard to their sex or quality, were delivered over to the flames.[13] But the deepest blow which the Emperor had yet felt remained to be struck by his son Henry; and one of the heaviest charges which rests (perhaps unjustly) upon the memory of Gregory IX. is his clandestine excitement of the son against the father. The jealousy with which the elder brother beheld his father's warmer affection for Conrad, has been assigned as the cause of his rebellion; but the great disparity of their ages seems to negative this notion; and the King of the Romans, at the mature age of three and twenty, might learn without uneasiness the prodigality of the Emperor's fondness for a child only six years old. The cause of Henry met with little support in Germany; but his rebellion found favour in Lombardy: the Milanese proffered him the crown of Italy; whilst the prince on his

Revolt of Henry, King of the Romans. 1234.

[11] They were Milan, Bologna, Placentia, Verona, Brescia, Faenza, Mantua, Vercelli, Lodi, Bergamo, Turin, Alessandria, Vicenza, Padua, and Treviso. Sismondi, tom. II. p. 452.

[12] These factions ceased in Germany about 1236.—Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 355.

[13] Murat. Ann. 1233.

part recognized the Lombard league, and promised the united cities his countenance and protection.[14] It needed only the presence of the Emperor in Germany to crush this unnatural revolt: the rebel forces were quickly dispersed; and Henry, abandoned by his followers, threw himself on his knees, and besought his father's mercy. Frederic steered a middle course between the heartless severity of Constantine[15] and the morbid lenity of Louis I.; the life of Henry was spared; but he was committed to safe custody, and never recovered his liberty.[16] This domestic affliction did not discourage the Emperor from a third marriage; and he now espoused Isabella, sister of Henry III. King of England.

The thoughts and exertions of Frederic were next directed to the reduction of the cities of Lombardy. More than fifty years had elapsed since the peace of Constance ratified their liberties. No longer oppressed by the officers and creatures of the German monarch, they devised an extraordinary species of government, and selected from some foreign state a noble of approved reputation, who was unconnected with the rival parties which agitated the citizens; and to him they entrusted the civil, military, and judicial supremacy, but for one year only.[17] The example of submitting to a foreign

[14] Raumer, vol. III. p. 692. This elaborate, but somewhat desultory, writer acquits Gregory of all participation in the rebellion of Henry.

[15] Gibbon. vol. III. p. 110.

[16] He died in 1242 in Fort S. Felix in Apulia; according to some by his own hand. Gian. Lib. XVII. c. 2.—Murat. Ann. 1236.

[17] Murat. Antiq. Ital. Dissert. XLVI.

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Government of the Lombard cities; 1187-1236.

Podestà was first set by Milan, which in 1187 chose Uberto de' Visconti of Placentia; and the other cities of Lombardy quickly adopted this mode of government. Ferrara, indeed, forms an inglorious exception. After a severe struggle between the Guelphs and Ghibellins, the former prevailed, and nominated Azzo VI. Marquis of Este as their Podestà. But Eccellino da Romano and Salinguerra Torrello, who headed the imperial party, soon succeeded in expelling the new governor; and Azzo, returning in the following year at the head of a large army, took forcible possession of Ferrara. Not content with the humble title of Podestà, he prevailed upon the citizens to elect him their *Prince*,[18] and thus laid the foundation of the hereditary sovereignty of the Este family in Ferrara.

Their contentions.

By this introduction of a foreign governor, the Lombard states might have gained internal tranquillity, and impartiality in the administration of their affairs. But whilst they struggled against the imperial thraldom, they unfortunately forgot the expediency of union; and endeavoured to tear each other in pieces. Not a year elapsed without some instance of this lamentable warfare.[19] Milan, mindful of her ancient animosities spared no occasion to harass Cremona, and completely succeeded in depressing Pavia. Bologna was the avowed enemy of Modena; Placentia was intent upon the reduction of Parma. Thus the boasted liberty of Lombardy became a curse; and many were driven

[18] Murat. Ann. 1208.—See Appendix, Tables XI. XIII.

[19] Murat Ann. 1188–1234.

to seek protection in the alliance of the Emperor. Whilst Milan, Brescia, Mantua, Placentia, Vicenza, Padua, Bologna, and other republics of less importance, stood in defiance against Frederic, Cremona, Bergamo, Parma, Modena, Reggio, and Verona, declared themselves for him. In Verona were two of his most strenuous supporters. These were Eccelino and Alberico da Romano, sons of Eccelino already mentioned, distinguished like their father as leaders of the Ghibellins in Ferrara. By them *Prince* Azzo had been a second time expelled the city, which he a second time entered by force of arms: the elder Eccelino became a monk; but the younger Eccelino, taking advantage of the disorders of Verona, insinuated himself into the counsels of that city: and became so distinguished by his opposition to the Guelphs, that when the Ghibellins acquired the ascendancy they chose him for their Podestà. Ferrara was now also devoted to Frederic. After the death of Azzo VI. his eldest son Aldovrandino succeeded him in the government, which he retained till his death: but his brother Azzo VII. was less fortunate: the intrigues and artifices of Salinguerra again triumphed: and Azzo was compelled to abandon the city.

Eccelino da Romano.

Such was the distracted state of Lombardy when Frederic II. marched for its reduction. The attack was commenced by the ravages of the imperial troops upon the district of Mantua; and the city of Vicenza was soon afterwards captured, and Alberico da Romano constituted Podestà. But the dis-

Frederic ravages Lombardy. 1236.

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orders of Germany procured a short respite for the Lombards. The sister of Frederic II. Duke of Austria, had been married to Henry, the rebellious son of the Emperor, and the young Duke participated in the revolt of his brother. His delinquency had hitherto remained unpunished; but his rapacious disposition and odious excesses rendered him generally obnoxious to the German Princes and to his own immediate subjects. The Emperor was therefore induced to visit Germany; and, having vainly summoned Duke Frederic to a Diet held at Augsburg, declared his estates forfeited, and immediately took possession of Austria. At Spires the Emperor caused his second son Conrad to be elected King of the Romans;[20] and then again returned to the reduction of Lombardy.

He seizes Austria. 1237.

Conrad IV. King of the Romans.

Frederic returns to Lombardy.

During Frederic's absence his allies had not been idle. Azzo VII. was awed into obedience: Padua and Mantua surrendered to the Emperor. The imperial army was reinforced by the troops of the

[20] Schmidt, Book VI. c. 8. Vol. III. p. 36.—Muratori remarks that it appears, from the act of Conrad's election preserved by Father Francis Pepin, that the election was not yet confined to the seven Electors. Pfeffel has, however, attempted to make a distinction; Conrad (he says) was chosen by the Electors, and the other Princes *approved of and consented to* the act of these *fathers and lights of the Empire.* (tom. I. p. 356.) But the words of the act itself (cited by Denina, lib. XI. c. 9.) are too express to be misunderstood. The Archbishops of Mentz, of Treves, and of Cologne, the *Bishops of Bamberg*, of *Ratisbon*, of *Frisingen*, and of *Padua*, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, *the Duke of Bavaria*, the King of Bohemia, *the Landgrave of Thuringia*, and the *Duke of Carinthia*, "qui circa hæc Romani Senatoris locum accepimus, qui patres et imperii lumina reputamur, *unanimiter vota nostra contulimus* in Conradum, eligentes ipsum in Romanum regem et in futurum Imperatorem." And see Raumer, vol. V. p. 57.

new partisans; and a body of seven thousand Saracen bowmen arrived from Apulia. These important successes filled the Pope with the utmost consternation: driven out from Rome by the factious citizens, he had every thing to dread from the Emperor, whom by secret machinations he had laboured to destroy. He therefore despatched his cardinal legates to Frederic with the hope of deprecating his vengeance; but Frederic refused to receive them, and they returned in confusion to Gregory.

Brescia was the next object of attack. Her territories were laid waste, till at length the forces of the confederate states encamped on the opposite side of the river Oglio. For many days the hostile armies surveyed each other from the banks of the stream; until the retreat of the allies towards Milan determined Frederic no longer to postpone an engagement. He succeeded in transporting his army across the river; and falling on his receding enemies, a desperate battle was fought at Cortenuova. Both sides sustained the contest with unabated valour; at length, however, the imperial fortune prevailed; and the main body of the confederates was utterly routed. A strong party of the bravest and most resolute youth still guarded the Carroccium, and repulsed every effort of the enemy to seize this last trophy of victory. Night suspended the struggle: and the Emperor commanded his troops to repose in their armour, and renew the contest next morning. But at break

Battle of Cortenuova. 27th Nov. 1237.

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of day the brave defenders of the Carroccium were no longer to be seen; the Car indeed remained, but despoiled of all its honours; the Milanese, unable to remove it through the marshy plains, were compelled to abandon it to the enemy, and could only console themselves by the dismantled state in which they resigned it. In the battle an immense number of prisoners were taken; and the Milanese alone sustained a loss of ten thousand killed and captured, including among the latter their Podestà, Pietro Tiepolo, son of the reigning Doge of Venice. In imitation of his imperial predecessors, Frederic entered Cremona with the triumph of the Roman generals: but whilst he emulated their vanity he forgot their clemency; the unfortunate Tiepolo after gracing the triumph was hanged in cold blood; an act of cruelty which justly drew upon the Emperor the implacable hatred of Venice. The remnant of the Carroccium was sent as a present to the Roman Senate, who honoured it with a place in the Capitol.[21]

Terrified by this blow, the smaller states hastened to make their peace with the conqueror; but against the more important cities of Milan, Brescia, Placentia, and Bologna his anger was unquenchable. In vain did Milan forward the most submissive messages with offers of fealty and ransom; all conditions were rejected; and the Milanese were summoned to surrender at discretion. But the memory of the first Frederic's *discretion* was still

[21] Murat. Ann. 1237.

alive in Milan, and the citizens resolved to die rather than submit to the imperial dictate. Determined to finish the bloody work he had so prosperously begun, the Emperor reinforced his strength from Germany and Naples; and the troops of England and of the Lombard Ghibellins swelled the numbers of his army. He secured and rewarded the services of his creature Eccelino by the hand of his natural daughter Selvaggia; and by the advice of this trusty assassin marched against Brescia, the weakest of his opponents. The devoted city was accordingly invested, and attacked by all the engines of assault which the art of war afforded. In imitation of his grandfather's cruelty at Crema, he endeavoured to protect his besieging towers from the missiles of the Brescians by exposing upon them his prisoners; whilst the unhappy victims continued to exhort their fellow-citizens to redouble their efforts for freedom. The skill of a Spanish engineer baffled all the assaults of the besiegers; by several successful sallies they harassed and thinned the enemy; and on one occasion the Emperor himself narrowly escaped being captured. It is to the eternal honour of Brescia that her constancy and valour were the means of of preserving the independence of Lombardy. Wearied of this unprofitable siege Frederic drew off his thousands, burnt his engines, and retired to Cremona. From that hour the commencement of his ruin may be dated. There was hope again in Italy. The courage of Milan revived: the Mar-

Siege of Brescia. 1238.

Frederic retreats.

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quis Azzo, disgusted by the cruelties of Eccelino, renounced the cause of the Emperor: Venice declared against him, and united in a league with Genoa and the Pope: and Gregory, now restored to Rome, thundered forth a new excommunication, and again absolved the subjects of Frederic from their allegiance.

However Frederic might have despised the wrath of the court of Rome, he deemed it prudent to justify himself in the eyes of Europe; and Pietro delle Vigne was again employed to draw up a manifesto addressed to the principal sovereigns. Meanwhile the fury of the Emperor blazed out in threats and imprecations against the Church; he commanded those of his subjects who were in Rome to quit the city; he expelled from his dominions all foreign friars and preachers; and laid new taxes and contributions upon his own ecclesiastics. As if the curse of heaven had really fallen upon him, his measures in Lombardy were without order; and he marched at the dictate of a favourite astrologer,[22] or retreated at the frightful omen of an eclipse.[23] After wasting much time in trivial undertakings, he proceeded into Tuscany; but first sent his natural son Enzio (whom he dignified by the title of King of Sardinia) against Bologna, which

[22] No other than the "wizard Michael Scott," whose memory has been revived in England by his illustrious namesake. See Lay of the last Minstrel, Cant. II. note XI. where the Poet admits his anachronism in placing Michael in the seventeenth century. Muratori, in the 44th Dissertation of his Italian Antiquities, gives a pleasant anecdote of Frederic and Michael.

[23] Murat. Ann. 1239.

in concert with Venice had succeeded in the reduction of Ravenna.

Arrives in Tuscany. 1239.

The reception of Frederic in Tuscany revived his drooping spirits; and in every city, except Florence, he beheld the superiority of the Ghibellin faction. Passing thence into the Dutchy of Spoleto, he was joyfully welcomed at Foligno; and after receiving the obedience of Viterbo, he approached the walls of Rome. The situation of the Pope was now desperate. His mortal enemy was at the gates; within the city was distrust and disaffection; and even those who were not professed friends of the Emperor shewed little alacrity to oppose him. At this trying juncture the aged Gregory exhibited unshaken courage: he formed a holy procession through the streets of Rome: he displayed to the people the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul, and drew from its sacred depository an undoubted fragment of the true Cross. By a touching appeal to the Romans he awakened their slumbering attachment to the cause of God and his Vicar; he enlarged upon the crimes and impiety of Frederic; and exhorted the people in the name of Christ and his mother to take up arms against the infidel invader. The giddy crowd, awed by the sight of the sacred reliques, and kindled by the eloquence of their spiritual sovereign, answered with acclamations, and vowed to lay down their lives in defence of the holy cause. Frederic approached the gates; but no hand opened them to receive him; and he cursed the insidious citizens who had beguiled him

Appears before Rome. 1240.

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onward to disappointment and derision. He vented his wrath upon such Romans as chanced to fall within his reach: their foreheads were branded as in scorn with the burning image of the Cross, and their skulls were cloven into quarters in imitation of the holy symbol. After a short exercise of such impotent cruelties he withdrew his army from Rome into the South, where he visited the clergy with new exactions, and carried the horrours of fire and sword into the pontifical territory of Benevento.[24]

And retires to Naples.

The united powers of Mantua, Bologna, and Venice were now turned against Ferrara, and treachery atchieved what force had failed in. Under colour of a treaty, Salinguerra was invited to the allied camp; but he returned no more to Ferrara. In his eightieth year he was conducted to Venice, and there treated, during the remainder of his life, with a shew of respect. Though the Marquis Azzo affected to censure this perfidious act, his scruples were easily silenced by the casuistry of the papal legate; and he took advantage of it by re-instating himself once more in Ferrara. On the other hand, the Emperor was not without reprisals. Benevento was taken and dismantled; Ravenna became an easy prey; and after an obstinate siege, Faenza was compelled to surrender. The protracted resistance of this city threw Frederic into great difficulties for the payment of his troops; after pawning his jewels and plate, he satisfied his soldiers by a coinage of leather, the

[24] Giov. Villani, Lib. VI. c. 18.—Struvius, p. 462.

nominal value of which was to be afterwards realized at the imperial treasury.[25]

Frederic persecutes the Church. 1241.

An unparalleled misfortune was now in store for the holy see. In the preceding year Gregory had intimated, by letters to the states of Europe, a general council to be held in Rome. It could not but occur to Frederic that such a measure must be aimed principally against himself, and that the sentence of deposition would be again pronounced in the face of the assembled bishops of Europe. Having learnt that at Genoa a fleet was prepared to transport to Civita Vecchia the foreign prelates, he resolved to strike such a blow as might destroy or cripple the energies of the Church. The Pisans readily seconded his views and submitted their navy to his service. In the month of April, two cardinals and a multitude of the clergy, collected in Genoa from France, England, and Italy, embarked on twenty-seven gallies, together with the ambassadors of Milan, Placentia, and Brescia; whilst others were journeying by land to Rome. It was soon, however, made known in Genoa that many of these travellers had been seized on their route and thrown into prison. The holy navigators became alarmed, and some of the most timid refused to proceed. The Genoese admiral was admonished of the hostile designs of the Pisans, and in order to escape their fleet was directed to stand out to

[25] Giov. Villani, Lib. VI. c. 21.—This leathern money is as old as the Carthaginians, who are said to have circulated leathern *promissory notes!* See Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, vol. I. p. 51.

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Battle of Meloria.

sea. But his folly or treachery prompted him to disobey,[26] and off the island of Meloria they encountered the superior force of Pisa. A sharp conflict terminated in the utter destruction of the Genoese armament; out of twenty-seven gallies only five escaped; and it was the boast of Frederic, that in this battle two thousand lives were sacrificed, and that, together with the cardinals, prelates, priests and ambassadors, four thousand Genoese were made prisoners. This motley crowd of captives was immediately conveyed to Naples, and distributed throughout the various fortresses of the kingdom.

Thus freed from the projected operations of a council, the exulting Emperor attacked the papal states; and Spoleto, Terni, Tivoli, and Albano, successively fell into his hands. For the payment of his troops he rifled the churches of his kingdom, and the altars were despoiled of their jewels, ornaments, and other riches. Once, we are told, he was startled by the rumoured approach of a horde of Tartars, who after ravaging Russia, Poland, Hungary, and Bohemia, threatened to overrun Germany and Italy: for a moment, the Emperor proposed to the Pope a suspension of their conflict, and cooperation against the common enemy. But the barbarous Scythians were more tolerable to

[26] The family name of the admiral was Ubbriachi, and Villani asserts that he was "Ubbriaco di nome e di fatto." Denina (Riv. Ital. Lib. XI. c. 9.) without reference to the admiral's name lays the blame of this mischance to his drunkenness; "per bestialità dell' ammiraglio *ubbriaco* azzuffatasi, &c."

Gregory than the *Atheist* Frederic, and he resolutely refused to treat of peace until with a contrite heart the Emperor should yield obedience to his mother the Church. Worn out by years (for he was nearly an hundred) and afflicted by the disasters of his flock, the inexorable Pontiff soon afterwards finished his mortal career. To the unyielding resoluteness of his character many of the calamities of Italy may be ascribed; for to the high aspirations of Innocent III. he united none of his moderation and discretion. With a less determined opponent he might have prevailed; but on Frederic the terrours of his spiritual thunders were expended in vain; and it was only by the reflected indignation of Europe that he could hope to touch the undaunted Emperor.

Death of Gregory IX. 21st Aug. 1241.

At the death of Gregory no more than ten cardinals were found in Rome; but Frederic permitted the two who were his captives to proceed thither for the election, under a promise to return, unless called to the sacred chair. After a contest of nearly six weeks, Godfrey, Bishop of Sabina, was chosen, perhaps because his advanced age promised another speedy vacancy. If this were the motive of the cardinals they were not disappointed, for the new Pope, called Celestine IV., survived his election but seventeen days. Upon his death, the cardinals dispirited by persecution and disunited by faction were unable to agree upon a successor, and the holy see remained vacant nearly two years. At length, however, the choice was determined, and

Celestine IV. 1241.

Innocent IV. 1243–1254.

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fell upon Sinibaldo, a noble Genoese, who mounted the throne by the title of Innocent IV.

The Emperor, having learnt the election of Innocent, sent to him Pietro delle Vigne and two other ambassadors, to congratulate him on his exaltation, and to adjust a treaty of peace. To so desirable a proposition the new Pope lent a willing ear; but after Frederic had for some time amused him with the hope of terminating the miseries of Italy, all prospect of adjustment vanished. The position of Innocent in Rome was anxious and insecure; and surrounded by disaffection and tumult, he secretly notified to his countrymen of Genoa the perils of his situation. They promptly obeyed his call, and the Pontiff no sooner heard that the Genoese gallies lay off Civita Vecchia than he privately quitted Rome accompanied by some chosen friends, and by unfrequented paths arrived safely at the port. There he embarked: after a perilous voyage of ten days he arrived in his native city, and was received with the utmost joy and magnificence.

The escape of Innocent was a thunderbolt to Frederic. He strove by the most lavish promises and assurances to win back the fugitive; but his solicitations had no other effect than to increase the caution of the Pope, and his anxiety to be completely beyond his enemy's grasp. After some delay from sickness, which at one time threatened his life, he arrived at Susa at the foot of the Alps. There he had the satisfaction to be met by eight

The Pope goes to Lyons. 1244.

cardinals, and by their guidance crossed the mountains, and safely reached Lyons, where he had resolved to establish his court. He immediately intimated a general Council; the states of Christendom were invited; and the Emperor was solemnly summoned to attend. 2nd Dec.

More than one hundred and forty patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops, appeared at the Council of Lyons, and Baldwin II. Emperor of the East was seated on the right hand of the Pope.[27] Thither Frederic, who refused to appear in person, sent his ambassadors; and the Council was opened by discussions on a new crusade, and the extermination of the Tartars in Hungary. The character and proceedings of the western Emperor was next examined, and he was accused as a heretic, and epicurean, and an atheist. In vindication against these charges, Taddeo da Sessa, one of the imperial representatives, undertook his master's defence; and, with great firmness and force excused the conduct of Frederic, and imputed the disasters of Italy to the holy see. He intimated the Emperor's probable appearance at the Council, and demanded an adjournment to give time for his arrival. An adjournment for two weeks was accordingly granted; and the Council again met at the expiration of that period. But the Emperor was still absent; and the Pope, Council of Lyons. 1245.

[27] Giannone, Lib. XVII. c. 3. s. 1.—Gibbon, vol. XI. p. 276. It was on this occasion that the cardinals first assumed the *Red Hat*,—to shew, says Giannone, that they were ready to spill their blood in the cause of the Church.

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Frederic deposed.

after dwelling upon the multitude of his offences, reiterated the sentence of excommunication, declared him deprived of the Empire and of his dominions, and absolved all his subjects from their allegiance.[28]

When this sentence was pronounced Frederic was eagerly engaged in Lombardy with his favourite object, the subjection of the confederate cities. He received the account of the proceedings of the Council with disdain, and even with ridicule: he denied the power of man to deprive him of the crown, and placed it on his head in derision of the papal privation.[29] But amidst this self-gratulation the exhortations of Innocent influenced some of the German Princes to treat the throne as vacant,

Henry of Thuringia, King of Germany. 1246.

and to elect for their new King Henry Raspe, Landgrave of Thuringia; and Conrad, the son of Frederic, who marched against the new sovereign, was defeated with severe loss.[30] The soul of the Emperor grew humbled by these events; and he condescended to seek the good offices of Louis IX. King of France, beseeching him to effect a reconciliation with the Pope, and promising thenceforth to dedicate the remainder of his life to the Christian cause in Palestine. Louis, who was then about to embark on the sixth Crusade, and would willingly have gained such a coadjutor, gladly undertook the mediation, and pressed upon the successor of St.

[28] See the *right* of the Pope to pronounce this sentence amusingly discussed by Gibbon, Miscel. Works, vol. III. p. 212.

[29] Giannone, ub. sup.—Struvius, p. 469.—Raumer, vol. IV. p. 173.

[30] Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 361.

Peter the Saviour's injunction to forgive his brother's transgressions. But the Pope rejected his entreaties; and the virtuous Louis was struck with astonishment at the haughty firmness of the "Servant of servants." Nor did Frederic reap advantage from the death of his rival Henry, who died after receiving a complete overthrow from Conrad: a new election called William, Count of Holland, to the throne; and he was soon after crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle.

William, Count of Holland, King. 1247.

In the midst of these changes, the city of Parma, which had hitherto remained the unshaken ally of Frederic, underwent a revolution; and the Guelphs succeeded in expelling the imperial party. The Emperor immediately laid siege to the city, and the confederates hastened to its assistance. Provoked by the obstinacy of the besieged, Frederic gave orders that every Parmese in Reggio and Modena should be seized and delivered into his hands. A number of these unhappy persons (most of whom were youths pursuing their studies in Modena) were daily brought before the gates of the city, and butchered in sight of their countrymen; a species of cruelty unheard of in ancient or modern times, and to which the intercession of the Pavian troops soon put an end.[31] The farther to distress the besieged, as well as to protect his forces during the winter, Frederic caused a town to be erected in front of Parma, which he called by the auspicious name of Vittoria. But the new

Revolution and siege of Parma.

[31] Murat. Ann. 1247.—Sismondi, tom. III. p. 87.

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town was surprised and fired in the absence of the Emperor; the besiegers were in their turn besieged; and Frederic, broken by continued reverses, retired to Naples.[32] Another disaster awaited the imperial cause: Enzio, King of Sardinia, remained as his father's lieutenant in Lombardy, and rashly risking an engagement with the confederate forces, was entirely defeated and made prisoner. In Bologna he was maintained in splendid captivity from which he never escaped, but died there after a residence of twenty-two years.

Retreat of Frederic. 1248.

Defeat of Enzio. 1249.

Death of Frederic II. 1250.

The days of Frederic were now numbered; and at Fiorenzuola in Apulia he breathed his last in December 1250. He attained the age of fifty-six; and died thirty years after his coronation in Rome; thirty-eight from his first ascending the German throne; and fifty-two from his becoming King of Sicily.

His character.

In considering the character of this Prince, who was in every way the most considerable man of his time, great circumspection is necessary; we must carefully steer between the lofty panegyrics and the unmeasured obloquies which have been heaped upon him: we must assume, *in his favour*, that he was the enemy and persecutor of the Church, and then remember that the clerical historians have been the chief witnesses against him.

In the Council of Lyons, Frederic was denounced as an Atheist, an Epicurean, and a Heretic. The first charge is extremely vague, and totally at vari-

[32] Struvius, p. 472.

ance with the third: the proofs of his atheism were some profane jests on the wisdom of the Deity; and a declaration of unbelief, in which Moses, Christ, and Mahomed, were alike treated as imposters.[33] Such a declaration, if really made, cannot reasonably be taken as a proof of his denial of God; and still less can the imputation of atheism, involving so much wickedness and so much folly, be substantiated by a jest, uttered without consideration, and repeated without discretion. Nor is the charge of Epicurism, of itself, very definite or intelligible. The perversion of language has applied to the sensual excesses of appetite the virtuous name of Epicurus; but though the illegitimate progeny of Frederic may testify his incontinence, the denunciations of the Church seemed to have aimed at his religious, rather than his moral, errours. If we call in the aid of Dante, who lived at no distant period, we shall be satisfied that the extent of Frederic's guilt was his holding, with Epicurus, the doctrine of materiality, which rejects the separation of body and soul,[34] an errour, which, but for Revelation, might be venial in the eyes of reason. Admitting, therefore, that Frederic II. was what the tolerant language of our age is content to call a *Sceptic*,

[33] Upon the strength of which, Frederic has been accused of writing a treatise, entitled *De tribus impostoribus*. See the matter debated at length by Tiraboschi (Tom. IV. Lib. I. c. 2. s. 14), who comes, *erroneously*, to the conclusion, that such a book never existed.

[34] Con Epicuro tutti i suoi seguaci,
Che l' anima col corpo morta fanno.
Inferno, Cant. X. v. 15.

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we may conclude that his perpetual war with the Church of Christ had transferred his hatred from the servants to the Master; while with little thought and less information, he strode to the conclusion, that a name which was identified with the scandals of Rome deserved neither love nor veneration. In contradiction of the charge of irreligion, his advocates adduce the constitutions he established for the good order of the Sicilian church; and even venture to insist on his persecution of heretics as a proof of his zeal and piety.

An undoubted blot in the character of Frederic is the bad faith with which he made and broke his oaths relative to the crusades. Yet even this has been excused by the greatest of modern historians, who has more than once touched upon the life of this Emperor.[35] We are advised that "having, at the age of twenty-one, assumed the Cross, he repented as he advanced in age and authority of the rash engagements of his youth: and that his liberal sense and knowledge taught him to despise the phantoms of superstition and the crowns of Asia." The Emperor is evidently a favourite with the historian, and the congenial liberality with which he despises the crusades has caused him to overlook Frederic's mature renewal of his oath whenever it suited his purpose, and the deliberate repetition of its infringement. It is in vain to deny that to the guilt of perjury Frederic added meanness, which reduced him to the shuffling attempt at appeasing

[35] See particularly the forty-ninth and fifty-ninth chapters of Gibbon.

and deluding the Pope; and the eagerness with which he seized the crown of Jerusalem is a little at variance with his contempt for the crowns of Asia.

To the charge of cruelty and recklessness of human suffering Frederic seems equally obnoxious. If we reject every word of his history, except one fact which cannot reasonably be doubted, we shall not fail to reprobate the daring contempt of humanity and justice, which led him to seize, to pillage, and to incarcerate a multitude of innocent individuals, engaged in what they imagined a pious and laudable enterprise; and the alleged exultation of the Emperor, after the battle of Meloria, gives authenticity to the abominable massacres of Brescia and Parma. Nor can Frederic be acquitted of the crime of ingratitude. To his aged and faithful servant Pietro delle Vigne[36] he behaved with unmeasured cruelty. The favour of his sovereign and the envy of the courtiers seem to have been his real

[36] Io son colui, che tenni ambo le chiavi
Del cuor di Federigo, e che le volsi,
Serrando e disserrando, si soavi,
Che dal segretto suo quasi ogni uom tolsi.
Inferno, c. XIII. v. 58.

The great poet in this beautiful part of his divine poem redeems Pietro from the charge of treachery which ruined him in the affections of his master.—See Pietro's history in Giannone, Lib. XVII. c. 3. s. 2., and more elaborately in Tiraboschi, tom. IV. Lib. I. c. 2. p. 17. The accusation against Pietro of having attempted to poison the Emperor seems to rest altogether upon the testimony of Matthew Paris. See Struvius, p. 473. Von Raumer has spared no labour in investigating this dark matter; but without any satisfactory result. Vol. IV. p. 257. and appendix I. über Peter von Vinea.

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crimes; yet the credulous Frederic believed the tale of treachery, and delivered his chancellor and defender to blindness, imprisonment, and suicide.

From these blemishes in Frederic's reputation we may gladly turn to the page of panegyric, and to the noble sentiments inspired by valour in the field, and the encouragement and cultivation of the peaceful arts. To one so constantly engaged in war, so prodigal of personal exposure, so heedless of fatigue, and so elastic in defeat, the praise of intrepidity and manly resolution may readily be assigned. His subjects were deeply indebted to him for the revision and reformation of their laws, and the improving and beautifying of their cities. He claims, moreover, the gratitude of all Europe as the diligent patron of the arts, and the munificent benefactor of learning and science; who assisted in dispelling the mists of ignorance, and disseminated the lore of ancient days too long neglected and forgotten.[37] That there was much in his character to praise and admire is admitted by his bitterest enemies; and though the great poet is content to leave him in the fiery tomb,[38] a more charitable view of his failings may better befit the infirmity of our nature.[39]

[37] Giannone, Lib. XVI. c. 2. 3.—Tiraboschi. Tom. IV. Lib. I. c. 1.—Von Raumer, Book VII. c. 6. The last writer gives a most glowing picture of the Emperor's private and public virtues: but he chooses to insert his panegyric at the year 1230 before the most reprehensible acts of Frederic's life had been committed.

[38] Dante Inferno, c. X. v. 119.

[39] This Prince, like his grandfather Frederic I., was a great encourager of the Troubadours of Provence and the Minnesänger of Germany (Tiraboschi,

Though the cities of Lombardy had thus freed themselves from the German yoke many were yet debarred from the blessings of independence; for Eccelino, the once faithful adherent of the Emperor, now reigned in baneful potency. That execrable monster, in the shipwreck of his master's fortunes, had secured to himself the possession and government of Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Feltre, Belluno, and other smaller states. These he governed with a rod of iron, and the citizens often beheld with horrour the most noble of their fellow-countrymen led out, by the tyrant's command, to torture and execution. Accusation, and even suspicion, were sufficient to incur punishment, and the prisons were loaded with the victims of his barbarity. Already excommunicated by Innocent IV. his repeated course of bloodshed raised a crusade against him, and under the conduct of the Marquis Azzo VII.[40] the united army of the crusaders attacked and mastered Padua. A multitude of the unhappy citizens, who had been imprisoned, or rather buried alive, were released from their horrid

Crusade against Eccelino. 1256.

tom. IV. Lib. III. p. 352.—Schmidt, vol. IV. p. 497.) Tiraboschi gives, from Crescimbeni, the beginning of a love-song composed in the Sicilian dialect by Frederic II., and assigns poetical talents to his sons Enzio and Manfred, and to his chancellor, Pietro delle Vigne. In allusion to Frederic's early poetry Mr. Hallam (Middle Ages, vol. III. p. 556) remarks, "Thus Italy was destined to owe the beginning of her national literature to a foreigner and an enemy." Yet Frederic can scarcely be called a *foreigner*, having undoubtedly been born in Italy (though the precise spot is disputed), of a Sicilian mother, and educated in Sicily. "His birth and education (says Gibbon, vol. IX. p. 208.) recommended him to the Italians."

[40] He is called by Ariosto (Cant. III. st. 32.) Azzo quinto; but this poet, as well as Tasso, has strangely perplexed the genealogy of the house of Este.

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confinement; but the glory of the conquerors was stained by their avidity in plundering the city. In revenge for this victory, Eccelino caused every Paduan whom he found in Verona to be put to the sword. The forces of the crusaders were now daily increasing: Venice sent her troops; and the astonishment and suspicion of the allies were excited by the voluntary junction of Alberico, the brother of Eccelino. This union, however, was of short duration; and if his quarrel with his brother were real, he soon became reconciled to the tyrant and led back his forces. A signal triumph was obtained by the Guelphs of Placentia, who expelled their Podestà, the Marquis Oberto Palavacino, a furious Ghibellin, infamous by his alliance with Eccelino. But in the following year, the unhappy dissensions of Brescia placed that city in the hands of Eccelino, and his friends Palavacino and Buoso da Doara; and the horrors that had afflicted Padua and Verona were repeated on the ill-fated Brescians. Jealousy, however, divided Oberto and Buoso from Eccelino; and they secretly entered into a league with the Marquis of Este.

The distracted state of Milan had betrayed Eccelino into the belief that he might seize upon that city: many of the nobles were his friends; and by a feigned movement of his army, he endeavoured to deceive the allies. Whilst the main body of his forces kept the crusaders in employment, he himself passed the Adda with a body of horse and made for Milan. But the vigilance of Martino

dalla Torre, who commanded a body of Milanese, intercepted the design of Eccelino, and he was enabled to throw himself into the devoted city before the enemy arrived at its walls. The situation of Eccelino now became extremely critical; encompassed by adversaries, he was harassed by the Milanese in the rear; he was surprised by the approach of Azzo and Oberto; and in a skirmish he received a deep wound in the foot, which compelled him to retire. With characteristic energy, he appeared next day at the head of his troops; and leading them across the Adda perceived too late that he was on all sides surrounded. The Brescians were the first to fly;, and Eccelino, preserving an intrepid presence of mind, endeavoured to retreat upon Bergamo. Intercepted by the confederates, and wounded by a soldier whose brother he had formerly cruelly mangled, he was compelled to surrender, together with his whole force. His enemies, unwilling to allow him so easy a death, caused his wounds to be carefully dressed; but he counteracted all attempts to preserve him, and by his vehemence delivered *himself* from the tortures of his captors, and *them* from the disgrace of the infliction. He was nearly seventy when he expired; and with the same reckless hardihood which had marked his life he disdained the last consolations of the Church.[41] His brother Alberico

Death of Eccelino. 1259.

[41] Dante calls him,

una facella
Che fece alla contrada grande assalto,
Paradiso, c. IX. v. 29.

and places him in the river of blood in hell. Inferno, c. XII. v. 110.

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And of his brother Alberico. 1260.

was not long suffered to survive him; in the following year he was seized, together with his wife and six children, who were barbarously cut to pieces in his presence; and his own immediate execution terminated this bloody tragedy.[42]

[42] Murat. Ann. 1253–1260.—Sismondi, Rep Ital. Tom. III. pp. 186–213.

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THE GRAND INTERREGNUM.

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Upon the death of Frederic II. Germany stood divided between the claims of his son Conrad and of William, Count of Holland, both of whom had been elected King of the Romans during the life of the late Emperor. But William possessed over his rival the advantage of the Pope's support; and from his residence at Lyons, Innocent thundered forth his anathema against Conrad, and declared him incapable of succeeding to the crown.

Conrad IV. King of the Romans;

Frederic by his will bequeathed the kingdom of the Sicilies to Conrad, and appointed his son Manfred guardian of the state during the absence of his brother. Manfred, brought up under the eye of the Emperor and tenderly beloved by him, inherited much of his daring spirit and military virtue; and as Naples and Capua, with some other cities, had been occupied by the papal troops, he prepared to restore these to obedience to Conrad, and immediately laid siege to Naples. Here he was joined by Conrad; who, despairing of success in Germany, now hastened to secure his dominions in the South. The rebellious cities were vigorously attacked; Capua immediately surrendered; and Naples, after being reduced to the last extremity,

And of Sicily. 1250.

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was delivered up to the vengeance of Conrad and his troops.

In the mean time Innocent quitted Lyons and advanced towards Rome, where an important change had taken place in the Government. In the year 1252 the Romans, in imitation of the Italian republics, resolved to entrust the supreme power to a foreign nobleman of distinction; and the senatorial name and dignity were bestowed on Brancaleone, a Bolognese, who was created Senator for three years.[1] Conrad, apprized of the Pope's return, and anxious to remove his enmity, sent ambassadors to Rome, submissively suing for the investiture of the kingdom of Sicily. But Innocent's hate for the house of Hohenstaufen still remained unmitigated; the late successes of Conrad, however, shewed him no despicable adversary; and the Pope for the present put off his request by evasive answers. Meanwhile in order to strengthen himself by a foreign alliance, he successively made overtures to Richard, Earl of Cornwall, brother of Henry III. King of England, and to Charles, Count of Anjou, brother of Louis IX. of France; to each of whom he proffered the kingdom of Sicily: but neither of these princes displayed any alacrity to avail himself of the offer.

Brancaleone Senator of Rome. 1252.

The popularity of Manfred soon began to excite the jealousy of Conrad; and the people beheld in the baseborn son of Frederic those noble qualities which were not perceivable in his lawful issue.

[1] Gibbon, vol. XII. p. 286.—Sismondi, tom. III. p. 163.

Conrad, stung by the popular preference, began to withdraw his countenance and favour, when events totally unlooked-for suddenly changed the state of affairs. Frederic had by Isabella of England a son named Henry, who had just attained his twelfth year, and was now at Melfi on a visit to his brother Conrad. The sudden death of this young prince threw a dark suspicion on the King, who was openly accused of having poisoned Henry. Innocent seized the accusation with avidity, cited Conrad to appear and justify himself at Rome, and upon his refusal sent forth once more the sentence of excommunication. On that very day Conrad himself expired; and a new charge of poison was raised against Manfred, already stained by the imputation of hastening his father's last moments. By this double catastrophe two obstacles to Manfred's ambitious views were removed; and though Conrad left a son, his tender age precluded his assumption of the government. The young Conrad, or Conradino, was entrusted by his father's will to the care of Berthold, Marquis of Hohenberg, who immediately claimed from the Pope the recognition of his pupil's title. The Pope refused to recognize Conradino as King of the Sicilies; and the Marquis, declining so great a charge, prevailed upon Manfred to accept the regency of the kingdom. Manfred now contrived to effect a reconciliation with Innocent, who immediately proceeded to Naples. But the prince soon found his position insecure; he sought refuge amongst the Saracen

Death of Conrad IV. 1254.

Manfred, Regent of Sicily.

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adherents of his father in Lucera; and his party daily increasing he was soon at the head of a considerable army. A partial victory over the commander of Innocent's troops infused such a panic into the papal partisans that they fled in terrour to Naples; and the death of the Pope at this juncture left the field open to Manfred. In a short time the principal cities of Italian Sicily opened their gates to the victorious prince; and the island rejected the government of the Pope, and acknowledged the son of Frederic II.

Alexander IV. 1254-1261.

Though Alexander IV., the successor of Innocent, affected a desire to protect the young Conradino, he at the same time made overtures to Henry III. King of England, promising to bestow the kingdom of Sicily upon his younger son Edmund. Henry at first eagerly embraced the offer; but his want of means compelled him to abandon the enterprise,[2] and Manfred was left to pursue his victorious and ambitious career. His friends encouraged his highest aspirations; they denied his illegitimacy; insisting that his mother had been privately married to the Emperor, and that the kingdom was therefore his by right. At the same time a report was industriously circulated that Conradino had died in Germany; and Manfred affected

[2] It is remarkable that this is the first occasion in which historians mention Bills of Exchange as the means of transmitting money from one country to another. Henry and the Pope, having borrowed large sums of the Italian bankers, authorized them to draw Bills for the amount upon the bishops of England, who were compelled under threat of excommunication to pay the money to an agent sent over on behalf of the bankers. Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, vol. I. p. 406.

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no reluctance to accept the Sicilian crown. He was accordingly crowned King on the 11th of August 1258, in the cathedral of Palermo.[3]

Manfred King of Sicily. 1258.

While the crafty Manfred was thus securing himself in the throne of Sicily, Conradino, the rightful heir, remained in Germany, under the care of his mother, Isabella of Bavaria. The imperial crown floated for a moment over his head: William, King of the Romans, was cut off in an expedition against the Frisons;[4] and the German Princes turned their regards once more to the house of Hohenstaufen. But the papal hatred for Frederic was entailed upon his grandson; and Alexander anticipated their choice by the strongest injunctions, and even menaces to the ecclesiastical Electors. In the event a schism divided Germany, by the double election of Richard of Cornwall and Alfonso X. King of Castile and Leon. When Manfred seized on the crown of Sicily, Isabella hastened to send ambassadors into Italy, to assure the world that Conradino was still alive, and to claim the crown from Manfred. But that prince, powerful in the love of his subjects and the prowess of his Saracen troops, was but little inclined to abdicate the throne; and treating the kingdom as his conquest from the Pope, threw out some expressions favourable to the young Conrad's succession after his own decease. The death

Death of William, King of the Romans. 1256.

Double election of Richard of Cornwall, and Alfonso X. King of Castile. 1257.

[3] Giov. Villani, Lib. VI. c. 45. 46.—Murat. Ann. 1251-1258.—Giannone, Lib. XVIII. c. 1-4.—Raumer, vol. IV. p. 391.

[4] Struvius, p. 499.

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Urban IV. 1261-1264.

of Alexander and the elevation of Urban IV., a man of the meanest origin but of undaunted disposition, raised against Manfred a more powerful competitor; and entirely changed the royal succession of Sicily.

Urban, though ill at ease in his own dominions, immediately concerted measures for the dethronement of Manfred, who fortified himself by the marriage of his daughter Constantia[5] with Peter, eldest son of James, King of Aragon. James, anxious to obtain the Pope's approbation of this alliance, endeavoured to mediate between Urban and Manfred; but the good father was inexorable against the King of Sicily, whose employment of the infidel Saracens was held to be an enormous aggravation of his offences. Urban, however, plainly perceived that his own resources were inadequate to a struggle with Manfred; and he resolved to inlist in his enterprise some powerful prince, whose temporal weapons might give effect to his spiritual arms. Himself a Frenchman, he naturally reverted to his own country; and Charles of Anjou was once more tempted by the offer of the Sicilian throne. Charles, who had before been deterred from seizing the prize by the wise and moderate counsels of his brother Louis, was no longer proof against the second temptation; and encouraged by the ambitious exhortations of his countess, he conquered, or slighted, the fraternal scruples. Urban,

[5] genitrice
Dell' onor di Cicilia e d' Aragona.
Dante, Purg. cant. III. v. 115.

having thus prepared for the French invasion of Italy, was immediately removed from the world, and did not even live to learn from Charles his acceptance of the proffered crown. It was the singular fortune of the Count of Anjou to receive at the same time the news that he had been elected Senator of Rome, and thus to find himself the favoured object of two parties, who had agreed in no other instance.

Clement IV. 1265–1268.

Clement IV. having confirmed the choice of his predecessor, Charles immediately set forward for Rome, where he was received with extraordinary pomp and rejoicing, in the incongruous characters of a senator and a king. In the Basilica of the Vatican he received the Sicilian crown, swearing allegiance to the holy see; and an ordinance was made by the Pope that thenceforth no King of Sicily should accept the imperial dignity. Charles, being somewhat straitened in his finances, at once led his forces against Manfred, in the hopes of satisfying his soldiers out of the spoils of his enemy.

Charles I. King of Sicily. 1265.

The King of Sicily, who had heard of the investiture and approach of Charles, was not negligent in preparing for his arrival; and marched to Benevento where he encamped with his army. Finding the enemy rapidly penetrating into the kingdom, he endeavoured to negociate with Charles; but the triumphant and sanguine Frenchman refused all accommodation with the leader of the Saracens. "Tell the *sultan* of Nocera," said he, "that I will have neither peace nor truce with

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him; and either he shall soon be in hell, or I in paradise."[6] Then hastening forward in the direction of Benevento, he was met by Manfred near that city, and a single battle decided the fate of the kingdom. The main body of Germans and Saracens, after a brave resistance, were overpowered by the multitudes of Charles; and being ill supported by the Apulian troops, the rout soon became general. Manfred now resolved not to survive defeat; he rushed, sword in hand, into the thickest of the enemy; and his glory was to die a king. This memorable battle wanted none of the accustomed miseries of slaughter and capture: an immense booty fell into the hands of the victors; and Charles I. was quickly employed in arranging the disorders of his new kingdom. The body of Manfred, concealed amidst heaps of slain, was diligently sought for by the conqueror; and an unsuccessful search of three days authorized the rumour of his preservation and escape. At length the royal corpse was discovered; and the touching lamentations of some noble prisoners inclined Charles to honour it with a decent burial. But the stern command of the apostolic Legate forbad this last tribute to the profane enemy of the Church: the body was thrown into a hole near the bridge of Benevento, whilst the French army testified their respect for the bravery of Manfred by dropping each a stone upon the spot, and thus erecting a

Death of Manfred. 1266.

[6] Allez, et ditez pour moi au sultan de Nocere, aujourdhui je mettrai lui en enfer, ou il mettra moi en paradis. Giov. Villani, Lib. VII. c. 5.

little mound. Even this pious office was offensive to the Church: the Archbishop of Cosenza beheld with indignation the sepulchral honours of *the Dog;* and with the approbation of Pope Clement the bones were disinterred, and exposed to the winds and waters beyond the limits of the kingdom.[7]

The death of Manfred and the establishment of Charles in Sicily were deeply felt by the Ghibellins. Both in Lombardy and Tuscany the Guelphs were now equally triumphant; and the eyes of the Ghibellins were turned towards the grandson of Frederic II. Repeated messages of invitation and encouragement from Lombardy, Pisa, and Siena, awakened the ambition of the young Conradino, who though not sixteen evinced a manly spirit worthy his illustrious descent. He listened with complacency to the embassies which promised to seat him on the throne of his ancestors; but his fond mother trembled for her beloved boy, and beheld with grief and alarm his growing resolution. The situation of Italy, however, appeared highly favourable to the enterprise. The Romans, ever turbulent, had repented of their obedience to Charles, and chosen for their Senator Henry,[8] the

[7] Or le bagna la pioggia e muove 'l vento
Di fuor del regno, quasi lungo 'l Verde,
Ove le trasmutò a lume spento.
Dante, Purg. c. III. v. 130.

[8] Henry was made prisoner at Tagliacozzo, and did not recover his liberty till 1294. He afterwards became Regent of Castile during the minority of Ferdinand IV. and died in 1304. Mariana, Lib. XIV. c. 15. Lib. XV. His mother was of the house of Hohenstaufen, being a daughter of King Philip.

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exiled brother of the King of Castile, a bitter enemy of the Church; the Pope shut out from Rome had retreated to Viterbo; and the French name was daily growing odious in the Sicilian dominions. The giddy people, who murmured at the rule of Manfred, and hoped to find in Charles a generous master, beheld the wealth of the kingdom lavished upon strangers; and the memory of the late King was recalled amidst complaints at the greedy exactions of his successor. The cry of the Sicilians pierced the ear of Conradino; his spirit was inflamed by his young friend Frederic, titular Duke of Austria; and in the beginning of the year 1267, accompanied by that noble youth and an army of ten thousand horsemen, he marched into Tuscany and was rapturously received in Pisa. Here his army obtained a valuable reinforcement, and by rapid marches he arrived at Rome, where the people, who had lately followed in the train of Charles, put no bounds to their caresses of the new invader.

Expedition of Conradino into Italy. 1267.

On the first gathering of the storm, Charles, who had lately been nominated Lord of Florence and Vicar of Tuscany, hastened from that province to Naples; and was there not a little disconcerted by the prevailing spirit of disaffection. A manifesto of Conradino, in which he announced his intention of expelling the French, was circulated and received with avidity; and an attempt to oppose the invaders on the frontier was completely defeated. In the mean time the Pope thundered forth citations, and

menaces, and excommunications against the young Conrad, who without heeding these idle roarings steadily pursued his course towards Naples. Charles threw his army into Capua, and there awaited the enemy; but finding the Ghibellin army had encamped near Tagliacozzo he moved forward, and from the summit of a hill reconnoitered the force of Conrad. The inferiority of his numbers convinced him that nothing but the greatest conduct and prudence could afford him a hope of victory; and he was happy to avail himself of the experience of Alard de S. Valori, an old French commander lately returned from Palestine. Conrad, confident in his strength, eagerly commenced the fight; the French began to give way; and Charles from an elevated position beheld the rout and slaughter of his battalions. In that moment the prudence of his general, who restrained him from leading his other troops to the same fate, secured him the victory: the Ghibellins thrown into disorder by pursuit and plunder, and rendered careless by too much confidence, were in their turn attacked by Alard, who rushing forward with his reserve entirely changed the fortune of the day.[9] The victors now were vanquished: Conrad and Frederic, who had laid aside their helmets to breathe after the heat of conquest, were compelled to fly for their lives; whilst many of their unfortunate friends were seized

Battle of Tagliacozzo. 1268.

Tagliacozzo
Ove senz' arme vinse il vecchio Alardo.
Dante, Inferno. c. XXVIII. v. 17.

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and butchered on the field. After wandering through the country in the disguise of peasants the two illustrious youths were unfortunately recognized at Astura, and were delivered up to Charles, who placed no limits to his savage delight at the capture of his noble prisoners. The conqueror employed himself in punishing the cities which had declared for his rival; Sicily was inundated with blood; and Lucera, the last strong hold of the Saracens in Italy, surrendered. The widow and infant children of Manfred were there made prisoners, and sent to Castel dell' Uovo; where the mother and her sons were immured for life; and the time of their death remains a secret.[10]

Conradino made prisoner.

The fate of the young Conrad was now to be decided, and Charles summoned a council to adjust this momentous point. In that assembly it was resolved that the grandson of Frederic II. should perish as a rebel and a traitor on a public scaffold, and with him the Duke of Austria and his other noble associates were doomed to suffer. A formal process was prepared against them, and sentence of death awarded. The royal boy protested against this fiendish resolution: less affected by the terrours of death than by the indignity of his fate, his magnanimity never forsook him: he bowed to the will of heaven, but his spirit revolted at the thought of his illustrious blood being shed, as a common malefactor, in that capital where his fore-

[10] Raumer, vol. IV. p. 536.—Beatrice, the younger daughter of Manfred, was liberated in 1284, after an incarceration of fifteen years.

fathers had been crowned and obeyed. But his cruel destiny was irrevocably fixed by the blood-thirsty Charles of Anjou. In the public market-place of Naples, the scaffold and all the pomp of death were prepared; and on the 26th day of October 1268, Conrad, the last male heir of the house of Swabia, and Frederic the last descendant of the ancient house of Austria, were led to public execution. With the same magnanimous composure which he had throughout maintained, the imperial victim asserted his right to the Sicilian crown, and denied to the Count of Anjou the lawful power to decree his death. Then having tenderly embraced his associates in death he uttered a short prayer, and bitterly bewailed the sufferings of his disconsolate mother; and amidst the tears and lamentations of the sympathizing people he submitted his head to the executioner. The decapitation of Frederic of Austria, of Count Gherardo of Pisa, and of his father Count Galvano, immediately followed, and many other nobles at the same time suffered death. This complication of horrours struck deep into the hearts of the assembled multitude. The youth of the Prince, the beauty of his person, and the constancy of his soul, produced a violent impression; and the execrable murders of that day prepared the spirits of men for the dreadful retribution which was destined shortly to follow.[11]

His murder.

[11] Giov. Villani, Lib. VII. c. 19—Murat. Ann. 1268.—Struvius, pp. 490. 493.—Sismondi, tom. III. p. 389.—Pignotti, Storia della Toscana, Lib III. c. 5.—Raumer, Book VIII. c. 10.—Giannone (Lib. XIX. c. IV. s. 2.) follows

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The sequel of this bloody tragedy, though not immediately consequent upon the death of Conradino, may be here most properly related. Amongst those involved in the ruin of King Manfred was John,[12] a nobleman of Salerno, whose family name has been merged in that of Procida, an island in the bay of Naples, forming part of his once extensive possessions. Stripped of these by the rapacity of Charles, he sought an asylum at the court of Peter III. King of Aragon, who had married Constantia, the daughter of his former master. His loyalty to the family of the Queen insured him welcome and reward, and he conceived the double design of repaying his benefactor and delivering his country. It is pretended that Conradino, in his last moments, threw from the scaffold a ring, or a glove, (for historians are not agreed upon the point,) which was construed into an investiture of the kingdom of Sicily, to be taken up by him who had the fairest claim. John of Procida found no difficulty in persuading the King of Aragon that to him, in right of his wife, the inheritance belonged;

those writers who enhance the miseries of Conradino's death by making him first witness the execution of Frederic of Austria.—Pierre de Bourdeille (better known by the title of Brantôme) gives the like account, with some other particulars not very credible. Vies des Dames illustres, Disc. III. Œuvres, tom. II. p. 348. Paris, 1787.

[12] John had studied in the schools of Salerno, and was particularly conversant with the science of medicine. It is curious to compare the several ways in which this accomplishment is treated by three celebrated writers. Giannone thinks it necessary to assure us that John's character was *not degraded* by his medical studies;—Muratori ascribes to his Galenic habits the desire to *purge* the island, (*guarire* anche i mali politici delle Sicilia;) and Gibbon ingeniously supports him in exile by the practice of physic.

and he steadily occupied himself in obviating difficulties, and concerting measures for the emancipation of his fellow-countrymen. But as the personal presence of Charles in Naples, the vigilance of his satellites, and the rigour of his government, made the reduction of the Italian Sicily almost hopeless, his whole design was concentrated upon the island, where obstacles to his views existed in a much less degree. Thither he accordingly sailed, and concealing himself in humble disguise sounded many of the principal inhabitants, and found an universal abhorrence of the French. In the habit of a monk he made his way to Pope Nicholas III. whose hatred of Charles was sufficiently encouraging; and by a journey to Constantinople, he assured himself of the co-operation of the Emperor, Michael Palæologus, and obtained from that prince the promise of an ample advance of money in favour of the King of Aragon. In a second journey to Rome, he made known to the Pope his successful negociation with the Emperor, and received from his holiness new promises of assistance and a grant of investiture of the island to King Peter. Thus fortified he returned to Spain, and for the first time communicated to the King his secret machinations. By his advice and exhortation Peter instantly prepared a powerful fleet. In order to colour his design, he gave out that he was about to engage in a crusade against the Saracens; and so little did Charles suspect the plot, that he actually transmitted to Aragon a sum of money in aid of this pious undertaking. The conspiracy thus ripe for

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execution received a severe blow by the death of Nicholas; but the indefatigable John, by another voyage to Constantinople, assured himself of the Emperor's unshaken firmness, and returned to Sicily. Finding the fleet of Peter ready to sail, he now prepared the Sicilians for striking the fatal blow; and it was finally arranged that the vesper-bell of Easter-Monday should be the signal at Palermo.

The Sicilian Vespers. 1282.

At the first sound of that vesper-bell, the Sicilians of Palermo rushed with one accord upon the French; a hideous slaughter of men, women, and children deluged the streets with the life-blood of the hateful nation; and the massacre was even extended to those Sicilian women who had polluted themselves by the embraces of a French husband or lover. Such were the famous SICILIAN VESPERS, which some historians have represented as the simultaneous rising of the whole island. A calmer inquirer [13] confines the commencement of the work of death to Palermo, where the banners, not of the Spaniard but, of the holy see were immediately displayed. But before the dismal news reached Charles, the flames had spread through the island, and in Messina and the other cities the vengeance

[13] Muratori. It is remarkable that Gibbon (who always writes, when Italy is concerned, with the annalist before him) should on this occasion have forsaken his *guide*; and by a strange confusion in favour of a rape, he attributes the *general* rising to a *local* outrage. Vol. XI. p. 344. In his statement of a simultaneous insurrection he is, however, fortified by Giannone, Lib. XX. c. 5.—It would appear from Dante that the first ebullition was confined to Palermo:

Mosso *Palermo* a grider, mora, mora.

Parad. VIII. v. 75.

of the Sicilians completed the extermination of the French. An unsuccessful attempt upon Messina by the fleet of Charles was followed by its entire destruction by the Spanish admiral, Roger de Loria; and the French monarch now offered a prayer to heaven that his descent from his lofty state might be accomplished by gradual humiliation. On the 10th of October 1282, Peter entered Messina, where he was received with extravagant joy: the island of Sicily was for ever lost to the French; and the *Kingdom of Naples* hereafter represents the dynasty of Anjou on the continent of Italy.[14] Two years after this tremendous explosion which rent the Sicilies asunder, Charles was further afflicted by the destruction of another fleet, and the capture of his only surviving son, by the Spaniards; and he sank soon afterwards into the grave, overwhelmed by guilt, misfortune, and remorse.[15]

Separation of the two Sicilies.

1284.

Death of Charles I. 1285.

[14] Giov. Villani, Lib. VII. c. 62.—Mariana gives a brief account of this conspiracy, which he calls "mas famosa que loable." Lib. XIV. c. 6.

[15] Gian. Lib. XX. c. 7. 8.—Giov. Villani. Lib. VII. c. 29.—As the connexion of Sicily with the Empire is suspended from this period, I may briefly anticipate the history of that island. King Peter died in 1285, and bequeathed Sicily to his second son James of Aragon. But James succeeding his brother Alfonso III. in the throne of Aragon in 1291, quitted Sicily, and left his brother Frederic his lieutenant. Afterwards a treaty was set on foot by which James agreed to give up Sicily to Charles II. of Naples; but the Sicilians, detesting the French, conferred the crown upon Frederic (1296), and with great difficulty that Prince sustained himself in the throne against the united efforts of his brother James, Charles II. and Boniface VIII. His progeny succeeded to the crown; but they failing in 1401 with Maria, her husband Martin of Aragon became King; who dying in 1409, his father Martin, King of Aragon, took possession of Sicily, and thus again united the Aragonese and Sicilian crowns. Gian. Lib. XXI.—See Appendix, Table XXIII.

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REIGN OF RODOLPH I.

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WHILST these important events were passing in the south of Italy, the kingdom of Germany was labouring under the utmost anarchy and confusion. Of the two nominal sovereigns, Alfonso X. King of Castile and Richard of Cornwall, the former had never visited the Germans; and the latter, continually engaged in the civil wars of England, and for four years the prisoner of the Earl of Leicester, passed but little time among his new subjects; and died at Berkhampstead in the year 1271.[1] Alfonso reaped no advantage from the death of his rival; and the imperial throne remained vacant for two years longer.

Death of Richard of Cornwall. 1271.

The kingdom of Burgundy was now destined to give a monarch to the western Empire. The magnificent tract of country comprehended within its limits had been committed by Frederic Barbarossa to the government of Berthold IV. Duke of Zæringen, together with the *advocacies* of Geneva, Sion,

[1] According to Matthew Paris, Richard expended upon his coronation and other fruitless objects in Germany the enormous sum of *seven hundred thousand pounds of silver*, besides his vast revenues in England, which were remitted to him while he continued in Germany. Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, vol. I. p. 408.

and Lausanne.[2] The confusion which agitated the reigns of his successors had favoured the detachment of the Burgundian territories from the imperial sway: its mountainous regions and fertile plains were usurped by a multitude of abbots, counts, and bishops; and the Helvetic cities were rapidly rising into independent power.[3] But of all the Counts the most conspicuous, in the thirteenth century, were those of Savoy and Hapsburg, the respective progenitors of a line of Kings and Emperors. Peter, Count of Savoy, succeeded his nephew Boniface in 1263,[4] and was one of the most considerable men of his age. His noble qualities and intrepid disposition procured him the appellation of the "Little Charlemagne:" the rich succession within the county of Kyburg was secured to him by his nephew,[5] Richard of Cornwall; and his intimate relation with the court of England increased his reputation and dignity. The death of Peter in 1268 vested his estates in his brother Philip;[6] and gave room for the splendid rise of the celebrated Rodolph.

The Counts of Savoy and Hapsburg.

[2] Planta, Helvetic Confederacy, Vol. I. p. 114.—These *advocacies* arose in the weakness of ecclesiastical bodies and their consequent inability to defend themselves; which caused them to choose some powerful secular noble as their patron and protector.

[3] Planta, p. 162.

[4] The four daughters of Beatrice of Provence, who was sister to Peter, were all married to kings.—1. Margaret, to Louis IX. of France:—2. Eleanor, to Henry III. of England:—3. Sanchette, to Richard of Cornwall; and 4. Beatrice, to Charles I. of Anjou, King of Sicily. Their father was Raymond Berenger, Count of Provence, the descendant of the illustrious Counts of Barcelona.

[5] See Appendix, Table XX.

[6] Planta, p. 191. 221.—The *Savoy*, in the Strand, was his palace in London.

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Rodolph of Hapsburg, 1218-1291.

In that corner of the kingdom of Burgundy, comprehended between the rivers Aar and Reuss, stood the Castle of Hapsburg, built early in the eleventh century by Werner, Bishop of Strasburg; which imparted a domicile and a title to the ancient Counts of Upper Alsace.[7] Rodolph, the fifth who bore the style of Count of Hapsburg, inherited from his father Albert considerable domains in Swabia, Alsace, and Helvetia; and received from Frederic II. the town and district of Lauffenburg, an imperial city on the Rhine. His power was further augmented by the advocacy of Uri, Schweitz, and Unterwalden, whose stubborn inhabitants the Swiss had formed a league against the oppressions of the Emperors and their minions. On the death of Rodolph in 1232 his estates were divided between his sons Albert IV. and Rodolph II.; the former receiving the landgraviate of Upper Alsace, and the county of Hapsburg, together with the patrimonial castle; the latter, the counties of Rheinfelden and Lauffenburg, and some other territories. Albert espoused Hedwige, daughter of Ulric, Count of Kyburg; and from this union sprang the great Rodolph, who was born on the first of May 1218, and was presented at the baptismal font by the Emperor Frederic II. On the death of his father Albert in 1240, Rodolph succeeded to his estates; but the greater portion of these were in the hands of his paternal uncle,

[7] Art de vérif. les Dates, tom. III. p. 570. (n.). For the various opinions as to the origin of the house of Hapsburg, see Struvius, p. 513. note (1).

Rodolph of Lauffenburg; and all he could call his own lay within sight of the great hall of his castle.[8]

The early youth of Rodolph of Hapsburg was devoted to martial and athletic exercises; he was distinguished by his skill in horsemanship, and his great strength and activity; and was knighted by Frederic II. whose train he joined, and who admired his gallantry and dexterity.[9] But his disposition was wayward and restless, and drew him into repeated contests with his neighbours and relations. After his father's death he attacked his uncle Rodolph of Lauffenburg, under colour of his having appropriated an undue share of the family estates; but his attack was vigorously resisted by Godfrey, son of the old Count, who carried the war into Rodolph's own possessions, and burnt his principal town of Bruck. A similar aggression upon his maternal uncle Hartman, Count of Kyburg, induced that nobleman to disinherit his refractory nephew, and to make a grant of his possessions to the Bishop of Strasburg. In a quarrel with the Bishop of Basle, Rodolph led his troops against that city, and burnt a convent in the suburbs, for which he was excommunicated by Pope Innocent IV.[10] He then entered the service of Ottocar II. King of Bohemia, under whom he served, in company with the Teutonic Knights,[11] in his

1242.

1244.

[8] Coxe's House of Austria, chap. I. 8vo. London, 1820.—Planta, p. 199.

[9] Raumer, Hohenstaufen, vol. III. p. 756.

[10] Struvius, p. 515.

[11] The origin of this Order of Knighthood has been already stated. Ante, chap. X. p. 268.—In the thirteenth century, the Teutonic Knights, being

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wars against the Prussian pagans; and afterwards against Bela IV. King of Hungary. He next turned his arms against the Bishop of Strasburg, who refused to surrender the grant of the Kyburg estates; and after the Bishop's death so intimidated his successor, that he purchased peace from Ro-
1263. dolph by surrendering the disputed lands. The deaths of his cousin Hartman, son of Werner, and of his uncle Hartman soon afterwards, put him in
1264. possession of the county of Kyburg; and he received the homage of many nobles and cities who admired his valour and courted his protection. Even the confederate mountaineers of Uri, Schweitz,
1265. and Unterwalden chose him as their Advocate; and the imperial citizens of Zurich elected him their Prefect.[12]

The Count of Hapsburg had extended his power and spread wide the fame of his valour by these and other exploits, which belong rather to his biography than to the imperial history. But one

compelled to abandon the East, settled in Germany: and Frederic II. created their Grand Master a Prince of the Empire. (Pfeffel, p. 343.) Conrad, Duke of Masovia, being engaged in a war with the idolatrous Prussians, craved their assistance; and in 1228-1230 settled upon them the province of Culm, and all the territory they might conquer from the Prussians. (ibid, 350.) By degrees they made themselves masters of Prussia, Livonia, Courland and Semigallia (Mosheim, vol. III. p. 21);—but in 1525 their grand master Albert of Brandenburg, having adopted the cause of Luther, threw off the habit of the order, and obtained from his uncle, Sigismund, King of Poland, the investiture of Prussia, which was raised to an *hereditary* dutchy. By the assistance of the Poles, Albert expelled the Teutonic Knights from Prussia; and in 1701 Duke Frederic of the house of Brandenburg assumed the title of King of Prussia.—Art de vérif. tom. III. p. 546.—Robertson, Charles V. vol. II. p. 264, 4to, London, 1769.

[12] Planta, vol. I. pp. 200–209.—Coxe, vol. I. pp. 13, 19.—Pfeffel, p. 422.

trait of his wisdom and moderation ought not to be omitted. A portion of the estates of Kyburg, which Rodolph inherited from his uncle, were claimed as a fief by the rich and powerful Abbot of St. Gall, who repeatedly called upon him to take up the investiture. But the call was slighted by the Count of Hapsburg, and the Abbot impatient of delay marched his troops into his territories, in order to punish the contumacy of his vassal. In his early youth Rodolph would hardly have brooked such an aggression: but time and experience had mitigated his impetuosity, and taught him to listen to the dictates of prudence. He was therefore careful not to provoke a powerful foe; and an event soon occurred, which determined him to convert the Abbot of St. Gall into an ally. The Bishop of Basle had long viewed Rodolph with no friendly eye: the citizens participated in the sentiments of their Bishop; and whilst Rodolph and his cousin, the Count of Lauffenburg, with many of their kindred and retainers, celebrated the Carnival in that city, a violent quarrel arose, in which some lives were lost, and Rodolph and his friends were compelled to fly. Burning to avenge this indignity, the Count of Hapsburg, attended by only two followers, set out for Wyl, where the Abbot of St. Gall then lay with a numerous army. Whilst the Abbot was carousing with his vassals and captains, 1267.
he was surprised by the announcement of the porter, that Rodolph of Hapsburg waited at the door and demanded admission. He at first treated it as the

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jest of some facetious neighbour; but his admiration was complete when he beheld the Count himself enter the hall and advance towards the table. "Abbot," exclaimed Rodolph, "I am your vassal, and hold my lands of your Saints; I have my reasons for so long neglecting to perform the accustomed homage. And now enough of contention: I am come to tell you there shall be no war between Berthold, Abbot of St. Gall, and Rodolph of Hapsburg." Astonished at the frankness and intrepidity of his new guest, the Abbot embraced and invited him to a seat; and the Count of Hapsburg, surrounded by a multitude which had been collected for his destruction, related with energy the outrage upon his kinsmen at Basle. His words infused fire into the bosoms of his hearers; the nobles starting up declared the cause their own; and the troops of St. Gall were instantly on the march against the offending city and its bishop. They were joined by the Schweitzers, the people of Zurich, and all the retainers of Hapsburg and Kyburg as far as the Brisgau and Alsace; and after the city had yielded, the Bishop despairing of relief submitted to purchase peace from the Count of Hapsburg.[13]

Death of Clement IV. 1268.

Whilst Rodolph was thus hastening to the summit of his glory, Pope Clement IV. expired; but faction and dissension perplexed the cardinals, and the holy see remained vacant nearly three years. At length, Theodore, Archdeacon of Liege,

[13] Planta, p. 210.—Coxe, p. 22.

neither bishop nor cardinal, and then engaged with the crusade in Palestine, obtained the majority of votes; and upon the notification of his election immediately repaired to Rome, where he was crowned with universal approbation by the title of Gregory X. But though he had forsaken Palestine for a time, his sanguine hopes of conquering the sacred region were far from abated; and his present exalted situation gave him influence over the sluggish powers of Europe. As the unsettled state of Germany and Italy was highly unfavourable to his projected enterprise, the only remedy for these disorders seemed the choice of an Emperor. The Pope, therefore, earnestly pressed the German Princes to proceed to a new election, without respecting the visionary pretensions of Alfonso X. King of Castile.

Gregory X. 1271-1276.

Whatever might have been formerly the case, the election of the sovereign appears to have been vested, about the middle of the thirteenth century, in only seven Electors. Before this period, Germany was portioned out into ten grand fiefs, the lords of which were the immediate vassals of the crown. These were the three ecclesiastical fiefs of Mentz, Cologne, and Treves; and the kingdom of Bohemia; the Dutchies of Saxony, Bavaria, Swabia, and Franconia; the County Palatine of the Rhine; and the Margraviate of Brandenburg. But this number was now decreased by the extinction of the Dutchies of Swabia and Franconia; and as both the Dutchy of Bavaria and the County

The seven Electors. 1273.

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Palatine were at that time vested in Lewis II. (the Severe), the number of the great Princes was reduced to seven, which so fortunately corresponded with the number of the golden candlesticks of the Apocalypse.[14] To each of these Princes, some grand office was assigned; the Archbishops were respectively chancellors of the kingdoms of Germany, Italy, and Arles; the King of Bohemia was the imperial cup-bearer; the Duke of Saxony, grand marshal; the Count Palatine, steward of the household; and the Margrave of Brandenburg, grand chamberlain.[15]

The urgent requisitions of Pope Gregory had their due effect with the Electors. An electoral Diet was convened at Frankfort, and the names of Alfonso X. King of Castile and Ottocar II. King of Bohemia stood foremost as competitors for the imperial crown. But a new and unexpected candidate was proposed by Werner, Elector of Mentz. In the year 1259 Werner had been invested with that archbishopric, and in his way to Rome to receive the pallium was escorted across the Alps by Rodolph of Hapsburg, and under his protection secured from the robbers who beset the passes.

[14] Schmidt (Book VI. c. 15. vol. III. pp. 169-173) is positive that the number of *seven* Electors was an imitation of the seven cardinal-bishops, who had the *principale judicium* in the papal election.

[15] Pfeffel, p. 399. The office of chancellor of Germany was annexed to the see of Mentz under Otho I. (Pfeffel, p. 117.); that of Italy, to Cologne under Henry II. (ib. p. 155); whilst that of Arles does not appear to have been annexed to Treves until the reign of Rodolph I. (ibid. 439). We may remember that under Otho I. these four lay offices were executed by the Dukes of Swabia, Bavaria, Franconia, and Lorraine. Ante. p. 96.

Charmed with the affability and frankness of his protector the Archbishop conceived a strong regard for Rodolph, and now proposed him as a person eminently fitted for the great office in debate.[16] The electors are described by a contemporary, as desiring an Emperor but detesting his power.[17] The comparative lowliness of the Count of Hapsburg recommended him as one from whom their authority stood in little jeopardy; but the claims of the King of Bohemia were vigorously urged; and it was at length agreed to decide the election by the voice of the Duke of Bavaria. Lewis without hesitation nominated Rodolph.[18]

Election of Rodolph I. King of the Romans. 30th Sept. 1273.

At the moment of his election Rodolph was encamped before Basle, whither he had returned to punish the refractory bishop and citizens. The good tidings were announced to him by his nephew Frederic of Hohenzollern,[19] Burgrave of Nuremberg, but were at first indignantly received by the incredulous Rodolph. Being at length satisfied of the reality of his good fortune, he made peace with his enemies of Basle, who readily yielded that sub-

[16] Schmidt, Book VII. c. 1.—Vol. III. p. 372.

[17] Volunt imperatorem, sed potentiam abhorrent, writes the Bishop of Olmutz to Pope Gregory X.

[18] Though all the writers agree as to the *number* of the Electors upon this occasion, yet a diversity of opinion exists as to their *persons*, the King of Bohemia being by some excluded, and Henry, Duke of *Lower* Bavaria, the brother of Lewis, Duke of Bavaria, inserted in his stead. (See Coxe, p. 31.) It seems clear that the King of Bohemia did not vote at this election; his claim being disallowed by the other Electors. Schmidt, vol. III. p. 385.

[19] From this Frederic, descended Frederic who received the Electorate of Brandenburg from the Emperor Sigismund in 1412; and whose descendants became Kings of Prussia. Post, chap. XXVII.

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mission to the sovereign of Germany which they had denied to the Count of Hapsburg. He proceeded to Aix-la-Chapelle, where with his Countess he received the royal crown; and his two daughters Matilda and Agnes were immediately afterwards married; the first to Lewis II. Duke of Bavaria, and the other to Albert II. Duke of Saxony.

Second Council of Lyons. 1274.

In the following year a general Council was held, for the second time, at Lyons, at which the Pope presided, and no less than five hundred bishops were present, besides an innumerable multitude of inferior clergy.[20] The first matter settled was the union of the Greek and Latin churches, which proved as short-lived as it was insincere on the part of the eastern Emperor.[21] Another institution was that of the Conclave,[22] which, though interrupted for a moment, has to this day secured the regular election of the Pope. The recovery of Palestine was not forgotten: and, as the enterprising character of Rodolph inspired Gregory with the hope that he would prove a redoubted champion of the Cross, the ministers who announced his election were received with distinguished favour; and having, in the name of the new King, sworn to observe the Capitulation of Otho IV., they obtained a cordial confirmation of the choice of the Electors.

[20] Dupin, vol. XI. c. 6. The ambassadors of the Kings of France and Sicily were also present; as well as those of Michael Palæologus, Emperor of the East: and James II. King of Aragon, attended the first session. ib.

[21] Gibbon, vol. XI. p. 337. [22] Gibbon, vol. XII. p. 302.

Though Gregory was highly satisfied with the King of the Romans, Alfonso was not to be despised; and the Pope readily granted him an interview in Languedoc. The claims of the King of Castile were silenced by the politic reasons of the Pope: yet no sooner had the King returned to his own dominions, than he recommenced his clamours; and it now only remained for Gregory to charge his spiritual battery, which quickly had the effect of quieting the Spanish monarch. A more satisfactory meeting was effected at Lausanne between the Pope and Rodolph; and an agreement was entered into, which afterwards ratified to the Church the long disputed gift of Charlemagne, comprising Ravenna, Æmilia, Bobbio, Cesena, Forumpopoli, Forli, Faenza, Imola, Bologna, Ferrara, Comacchio, Adria, Rimini, Urbino, Monteferetro, and the territory of Bagno.[23] Rodolph also bound himself to protect the privileges of the Church, and to maintain the freedom of Episcopal elections, and the right of appeal in all ecclesiastical causes; and having stipulated for receiving the imperial crown in Rome he promised to undertake an expedition to the holy land.[24].

Meeting of Rodolph and Gregory. 1275.

If Rodolph were sincere in these last engagements, the disturbed state of his German dominions afforded him an apology for their present non-fulfilment: but there is good reason for believing that he never intended to visit either Rome or Palestine; and his indifference to Italy has even been

[23] Coxe, vol. I. p. 67.—Sismondi, Repub. Ital. tom. III. p. 444.

[24] Schmidt, Book VII. c. 1. vol. III. p. 382.

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the theme of panegyric with his admirers.[25] The repeated and mortifying reverses of the two Frederics were before his eyes; there was little to excite his sympathy with the Italians; and though Lombardy seemed ready to acknowledge his supremacy, the Tuscan cities evinced aspirations after independence.

War with Ottocar II. King of Bohemia. 1276.

The early days of Rodolph's reign were disturbed by the contumacy of Ottocar, King of Bohemia. That Prince, whose merits might have well entitled him to a higher distinction, found it difficult to stoop before a man so much his inferior in birth, and who had even served under his banners; and he persisted in refusing to acknowledge the Count of Hapsburg as his sovereign. Possessed of the dutchies of Austria, Styria, Carniola, and Carinthia, he might rely upon his own resources; and he was fortified in his resistance by the alliance of Henry, Duke of Lower Bavaria. But the very possession of these four great fiefs was sufficient to draw down the envy and distrust of the other German Princes. To all these territories, indeed, the title of Ottocar was sufficiently disputable. On the death of Frederic II. fifth Duke of Austria in 1246, that dutchy, together with Styria and Carniola, was claimed by his niece Gertrude and his

[25] For his neglect *to heal the wounds of Italy*, Dante places Rodolph in Purgatory. Cant. VII. v. 94.—His attempt to reduce Tuscany, as related by Giov. Villani (Lib. VII. c. 112.), appears to have been so faint as hardly to deserve mention. The statement, usually made, and countenanced by Pfeffel, that he *sold* the regalian rights to Lucca and other cities, is contradicted by Muratori, and the authors of L'Art de vérifier les Dates, tom. II. p. 31.

sister Margaret.[26] By a marriage with the latter, and a victory over Bela IV. King of Hungary, whose uncle married Gertrude, Ottocar obtained possession of Austria and Styria; and in virtue of a purchase from Ulric, Duke of Carinthia and Carniola, he possessed himself of those dutchies on Ulric's death in 1269, in defiance of the claims of Philip, brother of the late Duke. Against so powerful a rival the Princes assembled at Augsburg readily voted succours to Rodolph; and Ottocar having refused to surrender the Austrian dominions, and even hanged the heralds who were sent to pronounce the consequent sentence of proscription, Rodolph with his accustomed promptitude took the field, and confounded his enemy by a rapid march upon Austria. In his way he surprised and vanquished the rebel Duke of Bavaria, whom he compelled to join his forces; he besieged and reduced to the last extremity the city of Vienna; and had already prepared a bridge of boats to cross the Danube and invade Bohemia, when Ottocar arrested his progress by a message of submission. The terms agreed upon were severely humiliating to the proud soul of Ottocar: he bound himself to

[26] In vol. I. p. 43. of his History of the House of Austria, Coxe states that the dutchy of Austria was conferred by Frederic *the second* on Henry, *fifth* in descent from Leopold; whereas, it was conferred by Frederic *the first*, and Henry was *sixth* in descent. In the same page, he states that Gertrude married *Premislaus, eldest* son of Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia; whereas, the first husband of Gertrude was *Uladislaus*, the second son of Wenceslaus. Gertrude was the mother of the unfortunate Frederic, beheaded with Conradino. See Appendix, Tables XIV. XV.

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render up to the conqueror the four disputed dutchies; to acknowledge Rodolph as his sovereign; to do homage for Bohemia and Moravia; to give his daughter Agnès in marriage to the youngest son of Rodolph; and to receive a daughter of Rodolph as the affianced bride of his son Wenceslaus.

Conquest of Austria, &c.

In compliance with these hard conditions, the reluctant King of Bohemia knelt before the King of the Romans; and the external appearances of reconciliation and friendship were preserved between the rival sovereigns during their residence in Vienna. But Rodolph must have been strangely unacquainted with mankind, if he expected a peace thus dictated at the head of an army to be of long duration. The degraded Ottocar withdrew to Prague, and strained every nerve to gather such a force as might retrieve his late losses of honour and territory. Henry of Bavaria again joined his standard; and he was soon provided with an army drawn from Bohemia, Moravia, Thuringia, and Poland, which promised him complete success over the King of the Romans. Meanwhile the levies of Rodolph were slow and scanty: he attempted a new negociation with his antagonist; but Ottocar resumed his haughty tone, and threw the adherents of Rodolph into the utmost consternation by a rapid march upon Vienna. Nothing, therefore, was left but to hazard a conflict; and Rodolph being joined by a timely reinforcement from Alsace and Swabia marched out to meet the enemy. A desperate battle took place on the Austrian frontier; the per-

Battle of Marschfeld. 26th August. 1278.

son of Rodolph was exposed to the greatest peril; and he was even wounded and beaten down from his horse by a knight of Thuringia. The valour of the two Kings was equally conspicuous throughout the conflict; but the fate of Ottocar was decided by the treachery of the Moravian troops, who deserted him at the critical moment. Confusion and rout ensued: the brave Ottocar unable to rally his troops was surrounded and made prisoner, and in that defenceless state was basely slain by some Austrian nobles, in revenge for a private injury. The conquerors pursued the remnant of the vanquished army as far as the river Marsch; many of the fugitives were drowned in their attempt to cross the stream; and the total loss of the Bohemians on that fatal day amounted to more than fourteen thousand men.

Death of Ottocar.

In the first moments of his triumph, Rodolph designed to appropriate the dominions of his deceased enemy. But his avidity was restrained by the Princes of the Empire, who interposed on behalf of the son of Ottocar; and Wenceslaus was permitted to retain Bohemia and Moravia.[27] The projected union of the two families was now renewed: Judith of Hapsburg was affianced to the young King of Bohemia; whose sister Agnes was married to Rodolph, youngest son of the King of the Romans.[28]

Wenceslaus IV. King of Bohemia.

During the struggle between Rodolph and Ot-

Innocent V. 1276.

[27] Appendix, Table XIX.

[28] Struvius, p. 524.—Pfeffel, p. 425.—Coxe, p. 59.

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Adrian V. John XXI. 1276-1277. Nicholas III. 1277-1280.

tocar, Gregory X. expired; and three succeeding Popes[29] passed away like shadows. In 1277, Nicholas III. of the noble house of Orsini mounted the throne, and his short reign was distinguished by an energy of character worthy his most illustrious predecessors.[30] Finding Rodolph no way inclined to complete his engagements, and that he even continued to occupy the Italian states which he had covenanted to cede to the Church, Nicholas thought proper to remind him of his promises, and whispered a threat of excommunication in case of non-compliance. Rodolph was too prudent to disregard this admonition: he evaded the projected crusade and journey to Rome; but he took care to send thither an emissary, who in his name surrendered to the Pope the territory already agreed on. Thus strengthened by the friendship of Rodolph, Nicholas dexterously made use of the name of the German monarch to curb the guilty ambition of Charles I. King of Sicily. He extorted from Charles the renunciation of the vicariate of Tuscany, in preservation of the rights of Rodolph and the Empire; and having also induced him to resign the title of Senator of Rome, published a constitution, by which every emperor, king, prince, and

Romagna ceded to the Pope. 1278.

[29] See a curious conversation between Adrian V. and the Poet, Purgatorio, cant. XIX. v. 97.—John XXI. is transferred to the fourth heaven, Paradiso, cant. XII. v. 134.

[30] Giov. Villani (Lib. VII. c. 54.) accuses Nicholas III. of being one of the first Popes, if not the first, who was guilty of *nepotism*; and Dante (Inferno, cant. XIX. v. 40.) places him in hell in a miserable, though somewhat ludicrous, position.

noble, was declared in future incapable of assuming that office.[31]

The King of the Romans, now delivered from his mortal enemy, and secure in the good will of the Pope, turned his attention to the aggrandisement of his own family. For Albert and Rodolph, his eldest and youngest surviving sons, he designed the dutchies of Austria and Styria; but his second son Hartman was his best-beloved, and for this darling youth a richer dominion was to be provided. It was the design of the King to revive the ancient kingdom of Burgundy in favour of Hartman, whom he had already affianced to a daughter of Edward I. King of England; and to bestow upon him that rich territory, which comprehended the possessions of his ancestors. A melancholy catastrophe frustrated the fond father's design: the best-beloved, whose valour and goodness justified all his father's affection, embarked upon the Rhine at Brisach, with a train of noble dependents; but darkness overtaking them, their bark became entangled amidst shoals and islets; and being overset, its precious freight were all consigned to an untimely death. The lifeless body of Hartman was discovered near the Abbey of Rhinau, and buried at Bale besides his mother, Anne of Hohenberg.[32] 1281.

Rodolph was more fortunate in the realization of his views with respect to his Austrian conquests.

[31] Murat. Ann. 1278—.Charles was, however, again created Senator by Martin IV. (Mur. Ann. 1281.) Gibbon apparently overlooked this king's second assumption of the Senatorial dignity. See vol. XII. p. 289.

[32] Planta, p. 222.—Art. de vérif. tom. III. p. 79. note 3.

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After satisfying the several claimants to those territories by various cessions of lands, he obtained the consent of a Diet held at Augsburg to the settlement of Austria, Styria, and Carniola upon his two surviving sons; who were accordingly jointly invested with those dutchies with great pomp and solemnity;[33] and they are at this hour enjoyed by the descendants of Rodolph of Hapsburg.

Settlement of Austria, &c. 1282.

The remaining exploits of this celebrated Prince are comparatively insignificant. He compelled Philip, Count of Savoy, to surrender Morat, Payerne, and Guminen, which had been usurped from the Empire. By a successful expedition across the Jura, he brought back to obedience Otho IV. Count of Burgundy; and forced him to renounce the allegiance he had proffered to Philip III. King France. He delivered the young Wenceslaus from the tyranny of Otho of Brandenburg, Regent of Bohemia. He crushed an insurrection headed by an impostor, who had persuaded the infatuated multitude to believe that he was the Emperor Frederic II. And he freed his dominions from rapine and desolation by the destruction of several castles, whose owners infested the country with their predatory incursions.[34] In one enterprise alone were his efforts foiled. The attachment of the city of Berne to the house of Savoy attracted the wrath

War with Philip, Count of Savoy; 1283.

With Otho IV. Count of Burgundy; 1284.

And with Berne. 1288.

[33] Pfeffel, p. 430.—Rodolph ceded Carinthia to Mainard, Count of Tyrol, whose daughter Elizabeth was married to Albert of Austria. The dutchy was afterwards revested in the house of Austria in 1363. Post, Chap. XXXIV.

[34] Struvius, p. 530—Pfeffel, p. 482—Schmidt, tom. III. 407. 416.

of Rodolph, and all means were attempted for its reduction; but the constancy of the citizens prevailed; the city held out against every attack by Rodolph and his sons; until the King, pleased by the valour of the besieged, or wearied of the unprofitable warfare, agreed to cease from the persecution.[35]

Indifference of Rodolph to Italy.

During his entire reign Rodolph maintained his indifference towards Italy. On the death, indeed, of Nicholas III. the chair was filled by Martin IV. a creature of Charles I. who made it his especial care to exalt his master, and to stimulate the restless Italians against the representative of the Empire.[36] Yet after the decease of this priest neither the invitations of Honorius IV. nor the *neutrality* of Nicholas IV.[37] appear to have affected the King of the Romans, whose views were rather directed to the wilds of Hungary and Germany than to the delicious regions of the south.

Martin IV. 1281-1285.

Honorius IV. 1285-1287.

Nicholas IV. 1288-1292.

Rodolph claims the crown of Hungary. 1290.

On the murder of Ladislaus III. King of Hungary, Rodolph claimed that kingdom as a fief of the Empire, on behalf of his son Albert, Duke of Austria. Two other competitors, however, were in the field. Maria, the sister of Ladislaus, was

[35] Planta, p. 209.

[36] Dante celebrates his gluttony;

Dal Torso fu; e purga per digiuno
L' anguille di Bolsena in la vernaccia.
Purg. XXIV. v. 23.

[37] Muratori (Ann. 1292) acquits Nicholas IV. of favouring either Guelphs or Ghibellins. But whatever might have been his professions, we find him, on more than one occasion, exerting his authority to depress the Ghibellins.

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married to Charles II. King of Naples;[38] and as the late King left no heir, the crown of Hungary might be claimed by the Queen of Naples. An embassy from Hungary offered the kingdom to Charles; but Charles, just released from a prison,[39] found too much occupation in his own paternal dominions, and substituted his eldest son Charles-Martel, whom he caused to be crowned King of Hungary. The pretensions of Rodolph were now to be disposed of; but that sovereign seeing the cause of Charles supported by the Pope offered no resistance, and even gave his daughter Clementia in marriage to the Neapolitan Prince. When Charles-Martel, however, departed to take possession of the Hungarian throne, he found it already occupied by Andrew III. surnamed the Venetian, the grandson of King Andrew II. Despairing of success he returned to Naples, and died in 1295; when his rights devolved to his infant son, Charles-Robert, or Charobert.[40]

Rodolph had attained the age of seventy-three

[38] i. e. Sicily citrà Pharum.—Appendix, Tables XVI. XVII. and XXII.

[39] Charles was made prisoner by the Spaniards in 1284, (ante, p. 345.) and carried into Sicily where he narrowly escaped being put to death, in revenge for his father's atrocious murder of young Conradino. He was saved by the magnanimous interference of Constantia, daughter of King Manfred, and Queen of Peter III. King of Aragon. Giannone, Lib. XX. c. 8. He was released in 1289, mainly through the intervention of Edward I. King of England. ibid. Lib. XXI. c. 2.

[40] Murat. Ann. 1290—Giannone, Lib. XXI. c. 3. 4.—Giov. Villani, Lib. VII. c. 135. Charles-Martel is gratefully remembered by Dante, and placed in the third heaven. Paradiso, cant. VIII. v. 58 Giannone not only places his death in 1301, but makes him a spectator of the Jubilee in 1300. Muratori and the majority of writers make the date of his death 1290.

and as his increasing infirmities admonished him of the approach of death, he grew anxious to secure to his son Albert the succession to the throne, and his nomination by the Electors ere the grave closed upon himself. The example of Charlemagne, the Othos, the Henrys, and most of his predecessors, warranted his expectations of compliance; and as no less than four of the Electors[41] were his sons-in-law, a rejection of his desire was scarcely to be anticipated. Accordingly he assembled a Diet at Frankfort, and proposed to the Electors with the utmost earnestness the election of his son as King of the Romans. But all his entreaties were unavailing; he was coldly reminded that he himself was still the *King*, and that the Empire was too poor to support two Kings. Rodolph might now repent his neglect to assume the imperial crown: but the character of Albert seems to have been the real obstacle to his elevation. With many of the great qualities of his father, this prince was deficient in his milder virtues; and his personal bravery and perseverance were tainted with pride, haughtiness, and avarice. This last disappointment hastened the operations of nature; and Rodolph, perceiving the hand of death upon him, desired to be carried to Spires, that he might visit the Kings his predecessors. But his increasing weakness compelled him to halt at Germersheim on the Rhine, where he expired on the 15th of

Death of Rodolph I. 1291.

[41] Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia: Lewis, Duke of Bavaria; Albert, Duke of Saxony; and Otho, Margrave of Brandenburg.

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July 1291, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, and the eighteenth of his reign. His corpse was conveyed to Spires, and deposited amidst the mouldering remains of the Kings of the Romans.[42]

That the character of a Prince, who from a petty count of a narrow territory became the sovereign of a mighty Empire, should have been the subject of lofty panegyric by historians who wrote whilst his descendants reigned, is not wonderful: yet his elevation appears rather the result of a combination of fortunate events than of any overwhelming merit of his own. That he possessed many good and great qualities we may be assured, not merely by the voice of his contemporaries, but by the more certain proof of the good order which he restored in Germany, and the submission which he enforced from the haughty and refractory nobles. He was brave, frank, and affable: temperate in his enjoyments, and sincere in his piety. But his eagerness for conquest may create a doubt of his strict love of justice and moderation; and his failure in obtaining the dearest object of his desire is at variance with the report of his *irresistible* powers of persuasion.[43] Bred up amidst war and tumult, he affected no literary propensities; but he supplied the defect of his education by strong practical sense and a vigorous understanding; nor does the rustic

[42] Pfeffel, p. 436.—Struvius, p. 532.—Schmidt, p. 418.—Coxe, p. 78.—Planta, p. 216.

[43] One of his panegyrists declares that he fascinated his hearers as if with a love-potion; "ceu philtro pertrahebat omnes."—Dornavius, apud Coxe, p. 80.

romance of his life lose any of its charm by his want of scholastic learning. "He was glorious," says Muratori, "for his many virtues; but still more glorious for the many Emperors who have descended from him;"—a shrewd distinction, which may furnish a palliative to the excessive encomiums lavished upon him. He must, however, be esteemed a wise and politic prince; unshaken by adversity; and bearing his good fortune without insolence; and perhaps no man of his age was so well qualified to organize the distracted empire he was called to govern.

In stature Rodolph was tall and slender[44]; his head small; his hair scanty; his nose long and acquiline; his countenance pale; his expression animated; his temper gay; his manners simple; his dress homely. Easily provoked to violent anger he was as easily appeased; and even these gusts of passion he learned to controul with his increasing years. To his sons (of whom Albert alone survived him) he was a kind and generous father; but his daughters were disposed of as his interests required, without regard to their feelings or inclination;—a curse which usually attends upon females who have the misfortune to be royally born.[45]

[44] According to some, he was *seven feet* high: we have no means, however, of ascertaining the exact measure of these feet.

[45] See the Genealogy of the house of Austria, Appendix, Table XXIV.

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REIGN OF ADOLPHUS.

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Adolphus, King of the Romans. 1292.

At the moment when Rodolph breathed his last, his son Albert was engaged in reducing an insurrection in his Austrian dominions. Though rejected by the Electors in his father's life-time he vigorously pressed his claim to the vacant throne, and after an interval of ten months had the mortification to learn that the choice of the princes had fallen on Adolphus, Count of Nassau. That nobleman was remarkable for his military talents, but possessed a scanty territory and slender finances; and to this latter circumstance he probably owed his election, as much as to the artifices and intrigues of his kinsman, Gerard, Elector of Mentz. Adolphus was accordingly crowned King at Aix-la-Chapelle; but the expenses of his election exceeded his fortune, and at the very beginning of his reign he incurred a heavy debt to the imperial city of Frankfort. Indignant at his second rejection, the Duke of Austria at first refused to acknowledge the new sovereign; but was deterred from open hostilities by the disturbed state of his own dominions, and by a league formed against him by Amadeus V. Count of Savoy, and several

of the Helvetic cities. He therefore digested his resentment and submitted to bend before Adolphus, and received from him the investiture of the Dutchy of Austria with its extensive dependencies.[1]

War upon Thuringia. 1293.

The Electors of Germany had little reason to be satisfied with their choice. Adolphus, anxious to extend his hereditary domains, entered into a negociation with the profligate Albert, Landgrave of Thuringia; who, to the disherison of his legitimate sons, offered the possessions of his ancestors for sale at the price of twelve thousand marks of silver. To raise a sum of money sufficient to conclude and enforce this purchase became the main object with Adolphus, and he had the meanness to become the hireling of Edward I. King of England. Edward, then just engaged in war with Philip IV. King of France, bought the alliance of the King of the Romans for thirty-thousand marks; and Adolphus easily found a pretence for a rupture with Philip.[2] But this alliance produced little advantage to the King of England. Instead of directing his troops to the invasion of France, Adolphus was employed in overrunning Thuringia, where he encountered a firm resistance from the sons of Albert, and wasted his ill-acquired wealth in a protracted and fruitless struggle.[3]

Rupture with Philip IV. King of France. 1294.

Celestine V. 1294.

Meanwhile an extraordinary occurrence took place in the church of Rome. After the death of Nicholas IV. the holy see remained vacant for above two years: the wholesome institution of the

[1] Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 442. [2] Struvius, p. 540. [3] Pfeffel, p. 444.

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conclave had been suspended by John XXI.; and the cardinals could not agree even on the place of assembly for the election. The wild dissensions of the Romans, now divided into opposite parties each struggling to elect a Senator, filled the city with fire and slaughter; and Perugia was at length fixed upon as the place of meeting. But weeks and months passed away, and Christendom was still without a Pope; when suddenly the choice of the cardinals fell on an individual, whose nomination astounded himself as well as Europe. Amidst the mountains of Morrone in the neighbourhood of Sulmona, a little cell was tenanted by a poor but pious hermit, whose days and nights were passed in prayer and meditation, and whose converse with heaven was rewarded by day-dreams and nocturnal visions. His words were received as prophetic by the multitude, and the visions of Pietro di Morrone passed into a proverb. The name of this recluse was sarcastically introduced in the assembly by the Cardinal Gaietano, who treated the threat of divine vengeance on the tardy electors as a vision of the hermit of Morrone. The mention of Pietro produced a very different effect from that intended by Gaietano; and operated like a charm on the contending cardinals. They had heard of Pietro's devout life and his familiar intercourse with heaven, and almost with one accord concurred in pointing him out as the fittest person to fill the chair of his holy namesake. The poor hermit was consequently invaded in his humble cell by three bishops, who

overwhelmed the old man with the tidings of his extraordinary elevation. Before he had time to compose his reason, or to reject the proffered Tiara, the mountain was filled with multitudes of the devout and curious; and Charles II. King of Naples, who beheld with pleasure the election of one of his subjects, confirmed the vacillating resolution of Pietro. He accordingly acquiesced in the wishes of his sovereign, and was consecrated Pope by the title of Celestine V.

Abdication of Celestine V.

The world was soon astonished by the voluntary resignation of the Pope. A thousand idle stories have been told to account for this event; and Cardinal Gaietano has been accused of counterfeiting, through a trumpet, the voice of heaven dictating to the visionary Pontiff this remarkable measure. But no celestial revelation could be required to convince the hermit of Sulmona of his inaptitude for the multiplied cares of a spiritual and temporal prince. The load of authority weighed heavily on the old man's shoulders, and he expressed to the sacred college his anxiety to undo the evil, which their hasty and inconsiderate choice had wrought in the Church of Christ. The cardinals, who beheld the Pontiff a resident and almost a prisoner in Naples, readily received his proposal, which they fortified by a constitution declaring the legality of such an abdication.[4] Pietro resumed the humble

[4] The resignation of Celestine was not altogether without a precedent; Benedict IX. descended from the pontifical chair in 1044; but his abdication was certainly not voluntary.

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garb of a hermit, and withdrew from Naples, resolved to pass the remnant of his life in his beloved solitude. The only act of importance which distinguished his short reign, was the renewal of the constitution of Gregory X. relative to the conclave; and the cardinals were now no longer at liberty to waste their days in idle discussions and selfish intrigues. Their imprisonment soon settled their choice: Cardinal Gaietano, the reputed maker and deposer of Pope Celestine V., became his successor, and assumed the title of Boniface VIII.; and lest his predecessor should dream of resuming his late authority, the new Pope took care to secure his person. An attempt at escape subjected him to a more rigorous confinement, in which he soon afterwards expired; nor are accusers wanting, who attribute the death of Pietro to the cruelties he was doomed to endure from the unrelenting Boniface.[5]

Boniface VIII. 1294-1303.

The new Pope appeared inspired with the arrogant genius of Gregory VII. The most outrageous pretensions of his predecessors to supreme dominion were loudly asserted by Boniface, who displayed his resolution to trample on the pride of kings. He was by nature bold and prompt; politic, artful, and sagacious; deficient in none of the learning of his age; and by education and habit im-

[5] Gian. Lib XXI. c. 3.—Platina, in vit. Cel. V.—Giov. Villani, Lib. VIII. c. 5. 6.—Murat. Ann. 1294.—Some of the commentators of Dante will have it, that his "*gran rifiuto*" (Inf. c. III. v. 60) is the resignation of Celestine.—Mariana (Lib. XIV. c. 17.) applauds the conduct of Celestine; and quotes Petrarca, to the same effect.

pressed with the loftiest notions of the pontifical authority. But it was his fortune to live at a time when spirits no less audacious than himself bore sway; and the vehemence of his proceedings involved him in troubles which ended in his own destruction.

To this haughty prelate Adolphus, King of the Romans, endeavoured to recommend himself, and sent an embassy to Rome to render to Boniface the accustomed homage. But Boniface, who was now endeavouring to mediate between the Kings of France and England, received his ambassadors with disdain; reproached them with their master's baseness in becoming the stipendiary of Edward; and forbad Adolphus, under pain of his displeasure, from taking any hostile steps against France.[6] The papal interference, however, appeared perfectly unnecessary: the only measure which Adolphus seems to have taken against Philip was the writing of a threatening letter; and the King of the Romans is reported to have been altogether content with the laconic reply of his adversary.[7] A truce soon afterwards concluded between France and England left him at liberty to follow up his designs upon Thuringia, and he at length succeeded in making himself master of great portion of the territory he had purchased from the Landgrave Albert.

[6] Pfeffel, p. 445.

[7] "Nimis, Germane," was Philip's reply. Père Daniel, tom. V. p. 43. or, according to other authorities "minis germanicè." Schmidt denies the whole story. Vol. III p. 431.

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While Adolphus was thus labouring to augment his patrimony, a powerful conspiracy was organized for his destruction. The Elector of Mentz, who was mainly instrumental in raising him to the throne, had extorted from him large promises of money and other advantages, which Adolphus had neither power nor inclination to fulfil. The disappointed prelate finding his hopes not likely to be realized became his bitter enemy; and the princes of Germany, who had never shared the sovereign's confidence, were easily induced to withdraw their allegiance. Albert, though twice before rejected, found favour in their eyes; and by bribes and promises a majority of the Electors were brought over to his interest. At the coronation of Wenceslaus IV. King of Bohemia, in Prague, that Prince, together with the Electors of Mentz, Saxony, and Brandenburg, pledged themselves to raise the Duke of Austria to the throne; and at Vienna the plans of the conspirators were definitively arranged. A long list of grievances was drawn up, in which the English stipend was not forgotten; and Adolphus was solemnly summoned to Mentz to answer the heads of accusation. On his disregarding the summons, they next proceeded to declare him contumacious, and unworthy the title of *Augustus;* and formally pronouncing his deposition, elected Albert of Austria in his room.[8]

Deposition of Adolphus 1298.

Election of Albert I.

If Adolphus was unworthy to reign because his hands were contaminated with foreign treasure,

[8] Pfeffel, p. 447.

Albert was no less unfit for the throne. Whilst the King of the Romans declared for Edward of England, the Duke of Austria became the ally of Philip of France, from whom he received a considerable sum of money, which he openly justified by the example of his rival. But the cause of the dethronement of Adolphus lay rather in private animosity than in his public delinquency; and three of the adverse Electors were the brothers-in-law of Albert. The deposed sovereign was, however, strongly supported; and he promptly collected his adherents, and marched at the head of a vast army against Albert, who was not unprepared for his reception. A great battle took place at Gelheim near Worms; and, after a bloody contest, the troops of Adolphus were entirely defeated. In the last moments of the struggle, the rival Kings encountered each other in personal conflict; and Adolphus is generally supposed to have fallen by the hand of Albert.[9] This victory secured the fortune of the conqueror: but Albert willing to avoid all possible opposition deemed it prudent to submit to a new election; and the Electors having assembled at Frankfort, he was unanimously chosen King of the Romans, and soon afterwards crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle.[10]

Battle of Gelheim.

Death of Adolphus.

[9] Struvius, p. 542. and note (58.) and Coxe's house of Austria, vol. I. p 98.

[10] Pfeffel, p. 450.—Schmidt, Book VII. c. 2. 3. vol. III. p. 443.

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REIGN OF ALBERT I.

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Albert I. King of the Romans. 1298-1308.

Boniface VIII. rejects his election.

ALBERT, now seated on the throne by the unanimous voice of the Electors, desired to complete his security by the countenance and alliance of the Pope. He accordingly sent ambassadors to Rome with a view to the confirmation of his election; but Boniface, who beheld with indignation the deposition and elevation of the Kings of the Romans without his concurrence, peremptorily refused to acknowledge Albert, whom he stigmatized as the murderer of his lawful sovereign, and as the husband of a woman inheriting the viperous blood of Frederic II.[1] Treating the election as a nullity, Boniface, in the assumed character of vicar general of the Empire, received the ambassadors seated on a throne of state, girt with a sword, and wearing the imperial crown of Constantine; and he is even said to have declared that he himself was Empe-

[1] His Holiness chose to mistake; for it does not appear that Elizabeth, the wife of Albert, had a drop of the blood of Frederic II. in her veins. She was indeed the daughter of Mainard, Duke of Carinthia, whose *first* wife was Elizabeth, widow of Conrad IV. son of Frederic. But the mother of Albert's Elizabeth was Agnes, daughter of Herman VI. Margrave of Baden. Art de vérif. tom. III. p. 583.—Pfeffel, (p. 451.) calls her erroneously daughter of Mainard's first wife.

ror.[2] This contemptuous treatment only induced Albert to negotiate a strict alliance with Philip IV. King of France, who bore no good will to the Pope:[3] the two Kings met and concerted measures for their mutual advantage at Quartrevaux in Lorraine; and a marriage was agreed upon between Rodolph, son of Albert, and Blanche, sister of Philip.[4]

Placing too much reliance on the friendship of the Electors, Albert next endeavoured to procure the nomination of his eldest son Rodolph as his successor to the crown: but the electors were entirely averse from a measure which had the semblance of hereditary succession, and refused to listen to such a proposal. From that moment Albert appears to have regarded the Electors as his personal enemies: more especially Gerard, Elector of Mentz, who had been the foremost to thwart his wishes.

Unsuccessful attempt upon Holland. 1299.

He soon afterwards met with another mortification. John, Count of Holland, dying in 1299, without male issue, Albert immediately laid claim to the counties of Holland, Zealand, and Friesland, as fiefs reverting to the crown. But as these territories were descendible in the female line, this

[2] Io, io son Cesare, io l'imperatore. Art de vérif. tom. II. p. 31.—Schmidt, p. 452.

[3] The French historians assert that the ill-feeling between Boniface and Philip was aggravated by the *partial* award of the former, when the settlement of the peace between France and England was referred to his arbitrament. That this is without foundation has been sufficiently proved by later writers and the publication of the award itself. See Hallam's Middle Ages, vol. II. p. 324. note.

[4] Pfeffel, p. 454.—Schmidt, p. 447.

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claim was rebutted by John d'Avesnes, Count of Hainault, uncle of the late Count, and nephew of William of Holland, King of the Romans. Though discountenanced by the Electors in his grasping enterprise, Albert conducted an army into the Low Countries; but being attacked by John of Hainault he was compelled precipitately to retreat; and at length reluctantly invested the right heir with the counties he had endeavoured to usurp.[5]

War with the Rhenish Electors. 1301.

Boniface, not content with refusing to acknowledge Albert, unceasingly pressed upon the Electors the necessity of a new election; and menaced with his displeasure all who recognized the Duke of Austria as King of the Romans. The four Rhenish Electors were well inclined to listen to the injunctions of the Pope; and Albert, aware of their hostile sentiments, avenged himself by depriving them of all the tolls of the Rhine, as well those which anciently belonged to the crown as those instituted by the Electors themselves, under pretence that these tolls gave a check to the trade of the adjacent cities. This measure, in direct violation of former grants, excited unbounded indignation; and Gerard, Elector of Mentz, insultingly exclaimed, that his hunting-horn contained many Kings of the Romans, and that a single blast would produce a new sovereign. Encouraged by the perseverance of the Pope, who now summoned Albert to Rome to answer for the murder of Adol-

[5] Struvius, p. 547.

phus, the Electors met at Mentz, and proceeded to discuss the legality of Albert's election.

But the activity of the King baffled the designs of his adversaries. Forming a strict alliance with the imperial cities of the Rhine, and strengthened by a force from Philip of France, he suddenly rushed upon the principality of Mentz; and pouring his troops into that territory, soon compelled the Elector to crave his mercy. Alarmed by this successful blow, and receiving no other assistance from Boniface than his harmless fulminations, the other three Rhenish Electors tendered their submission to Albert; and abandoned to him, under a compromise, the greater part of the disputed tolls.[6]

Submission of the Electors. 1302.

Disconcerted by the failure of this enterprise, and deeply involved in quarrel with Philip IV. of France, Boniface began to entertain another line of policy, and became as anxious to conciliate Albert as he had lately been to crush him. His menaces and anathemas were turned to protestations of friendship, and of readiness to acknowledge him as legitimate King; and he even invited him to Rome, that he might receive from his hands the imperial crown. Albert, though he displayed no wish to offend Philip whose sister was married to his son, did not neglect the advances of the Pope; and began to negociate with Boniface for rendering the crown of Germany hereditary in his family. This project was at once put an end to by the fatal issue of the quarrel between the Pope and the King of France.[7]

Boniface VIII. recognizes Albert.

[6] Struvius, p. 547.—Pfeffel, p. 456.

[7] Pfeffel, ub sup.

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Quarrel between Boniface and Philip IV. 1296.

Heartburnings had long existed between Boniface and Philip. That Prince, whilst at war with Edward I. of England, and with Guy, Count of Flanders, sought from the possessions of his subjects the means of carrying on the contest. As the French monarch pertinaciously called upon the Church to share in the burthens of the state, Boniface thought fit to interfere in behalf of the clergy; and by a bull (*Clericis laicos*) declared that the Church was exempt from paying taxes to secular princes. This bull equally affected the English King; but Philip, whose temper was no less resolute than the Pope's, resented the attempt to limit his taxation, and made a law, which forbad his subjects from transporting out of France money, jewels, or other valuable property. Though no mention was made of Rome, Boniface at once perceived the drift of Philip; and his coffers severely felt the effect of this edict, which deprived them of a large revenue extracted from the funds of the French clergy. The mortified Pontiff immediately issued a bull (*Ineffabilis*), by which he denied to Philip the power of controuling his ecclesiastical subjects, and threatened him with excommunication if he attempted to intercept the dues of the see of Rome. Philip replied by an angry remonstrance; and Boniface, unwilling to provoke so inflexible an adversary, endeavoured to explain away the most offensive parts of his original bull, and conciliated Philip by the canonization of his grandfather, Louis IX.

1296.

The quarrel suspended. 1297.

The flame, thus smothered for a time, quickly

blazed forth anew; and its fierceness was increased by the presence of the family of Colonna, the mortal enemies of Boniface. That illustrious family had long been conspicuous in the annals of Italy; and in the struggle between Gregory IX. and Frederic II. Cardinal Giovanni Colonna was entrusted with the command of the papal forces. Some disgust, however, deprived the Pope of his services; and the family were afterwards distinguished for their attachment to the Ghibellin faction.[8] But their enmity to the Pope had not deprived them of their spiritual rank; and Jacopo Colonna was created cardinal by Nicholas III., who belonged to the rival family of the Orsini. The affection of Nicholas IV. showered upon them a profusion of honours. Pietro, the nephew of Jacopo, became also a cardinal: Giovanni Colonna was created Marquis of Ancona; and Stefano was made Count of Romagna.[9] Nor was this noble race less favoured by the Roman people. Pietro Colonna was on one occasion proclaimed Lord of Rome, and with an imperial triumph received the title of Cæsar;[10] and a popular commotion had been suppressed by the joint nomination of a Colonna and an Orsino, as Senators of Rome.[11] The election of Boniface had been vehemently opposed by the Cardinals Jacopo and Pietro, who denied the legality of Celestine's resignation. Boniface re-

The Colonna family in France.

[8] Murat. Ann. 1228—1241.

[9] Murat. Ann. 1290.

[10] Murat. Ann. 1290.—Gibbon makes him Senator, vol. XII. p. 318.

[11] Murat. Ann. 1292.

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solved upon their destruction, and soon found a pretext for accomplishing his resolution. The Cardinals were degraded from their rank with all the weight of spiritual anathemas: and a manifest in defence of their right served only to involve every branch of the family in ruin. A formal crusade was preached against them; their houses and territories were destroyed and devastated; and the town of Prænestе, the cradle of the Colonna, was levelled with the ground.[12] Pietro submitted to the degradation of a galley-slave for no less than three years, rather than expose himself to the malice of Boniface; whilst Stefano and Sciarra, escaping into France, found an asylum at the court of Philip IV.[13]

The quarrel renewed. 1302.

The flight of the Colonna to France at once stung Boniface, and emboldened the King in his hostility. Philip persisted in his exactions from the clergy, and the wealth of France no longer found its way to the treasury of Rome. The Pope, in conformity to his claims to supremacy, had founded a new French bishopric at Pamiers, and appointed as bishop Bernard de Saisset, a Frenchman, particularly odious to the King. This person

[12] Prænestе, or Palestrina, was afterwards restored in 1307 by Stefano Colonna, whose family recovered from Pietro Gaietani, nephew of Boniface, an indemnification of 100,000 florins of gold.—See Nibby, Contorni di Roma, tom. I. p. 279, and Gell's "Rome and its vicinity," vol. II. p. 179.

[13] Murat. Ann. 1297—1299.—Platina, in vit. Bonif. VIII.—Daniel, tom. V. p. 61.—Mariana, Lib. XV. c. 7.—According to the last authors, it was Sciarra who became the prisoner and galley-slave. Muratori adopts the story of the treacherous seizure of Prænestе by Guido, Count of Montefeltro, from Dante, Inf. c. XXVII. v. 98.

he selected as the bearer of a remonstrance to Philip; and, insolent in his new dignity, Bernard presumed to insult his sovereign by injurious allusions to his subordinacy to Boniface, and with threats of excommunication in case of disobedience. The indignant Philip drove him from his presence; another messenger tended only to widen the breach; and either party was prepared for extreme measures.

In order more firmly to attach his new ally, Boniface now offered to assign to Albert the kingdom of France, from which Philip was to be driven by the thunders of the Vatican and the arms of Germany. Philip might have despised the former, but distrusted the prejudices of his people; and he therefore resolved that his resistance to the Pope should receive the sanction of the nation. He assembled the *Three Estates* of France: the 1302.
nobles were associated with the dignitaries of the Church; and for the first time, the citizens, or third estate, were permitted to hold, by their deputies, a place in the great national council. The king found his subjects ready to uphold his authority: even the clergy, with very small exception, condemned the pretensions of the Pope: the decree which forbad the export of treasure was fully confirmed; and many of the nobles and prelates joined in a strong remonstrance to the court of Rome. The Pope endeavoured to counteract the effects of this assembly by a Council; and by a bull *(Unam sanctam)*, in which he explicitly asserted

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the temporal supremacy of the Church over kings and princes. Philip, having caused this bull to be committed to the flames, assembled the States for the second time; and before them Boniface was accused in unmeasured terms of the foulest and blackest crimes. The murder of Celestine, unbelief in the real presence, avarice, simony, heresy and the most frightful excesses of lust, were all imputed to the head of the Church, and it was decided to appeal to a general Council, and to a future Pope to be lawfully elected.[14] Boniface retorted by a bull of excommunication against Philip, absolving his subjects from their allegiance, and disposing of the kingdom of France to Albert, King of the Romans.

Philip excommunicated. 1303.

In the storm which was now gathering over the head of Boniface, the family of the Colonna were considerable elements. The cardinals lent their advice and authority; and Sciarra, accompanied by William de Nogaret the Advocate of the King, was soon seen in Italy among the disaffected Ghibellins. Sensible of his critical situation, and wanting confidence in the citizens of Rome, the Pope withdrew his court to Anagni, his birth-place. On a sudden, the town was filled with armed men; and loud shouts of "Life to Philip of France, and death to Pope Boniface!" admonished the sacred college of their danger. The cardinals fled with precipitation: the fellow-citizens of Boniface were panic-struck and inactive; and the Pope became the pri-

Boniface seized at Anagni. 7th Sept.

[14] Daniel, tom. V. p. 81.

soner of his bitterest foe. Whilst the soldiery were forcing an entry into the palace, the Pontiff caused himself to be arrayed in his most gorgeous vestments. Crowned with the papal Tiara, and holding the Cross in one hand, and the Keys in the other, he awaited, in desperate grandeur, the approach of his enemies. Nogaret intimated to him his errand; he was come, not to injure his person, but to conduct him to Lyons, there to be judged by the Council. But the sight of the destroyer of his family unbridled the fury of Sciarra Colonna; and with fierce menaces and even a blow, he called upon Boniface to divest himself of the papal ensigns. "Never!" exclaimed the undaunted Pope; "God has raised me to the throne of the world; on that throne will I expire:—strike!—but your sword shall smite the vicar of Christ on earth." For three days the unhappy Boniface endured a rigorous imprisonment, and the pangs of hunger, which the neglect of his enemies, or his own suspicions of poison, imposed upon him. During that period the soldiers were actively engaged in plundering the palace; and an accumulation of treasure, almost surpassing belief, fell a prey to the rapacity of the invaders. At length the people of Anagni recovered from their panic; they beheld with grief and shame the outrages of a few foreign soldiers; and with a cry of "Death to the traitors!" they drove the enemy out of the town, and liberated the Pope from his miserable confinement. Boniface immediately set out for Rome; and experienced a kind

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reception from the sympathizing people. But the struggles of pride, of wrath, of anguish, had rent his soul: visions of armed men flitted before his eyes; his reason became unsettled; and breathing forth imprecations and vengeance against his persecutors, he sank under the fury of his passions and expired.[15]

Death of Boniface. 11th Oct.

Thus miserably perished Boniface VIII. one of the last of the Popes who claimed a temporal supremacy over the kings of the earth. Had he lived in a darker age, his extravagant assumptions might have prevailed: but the light was now gradually revisiting Europe; and two of the principal kingdoms were governed by princes of no less resolute character than Boniface himself. He once ventured to claim against Edward I. the sovereignty of Scotland, as the ancient property of the see of Rome; but his pretensions were treated with disdain and ridicule: in a letter approved and signed by the barons of England, Edward firmly denied the asserted right: whilst he amused the ignorance of the Italians by another letter stuffed with absurd fables, which passed for the genuine and authentic annals of the British Isles.[16] In Philip, Boniface found a sterner adversary, by whose vigour his power, and even his life, was abridged: and in this memorable

[15] Murat. Ann. 1303.—Giov. Villani, Lib. VIII. c. 63.—Dupin, vol. XII. c. 1.—Anquetil, Hist. de France, tom. III. p. 35—41.—Gibbon ascribes the saying, that Boniface "entered like a fox, reigned like a lion, and died like a dog," to the *chronicles of the times*. It is given by Benvenuto da Imola, in his commentary on Dante, as a *prophecy* of Celestine V.

[16] Rapin, Hist. d' Angleterre, tom. III. p. 77.

contest, a blow was struck upon the church of Rome, from which she was destined never to recover.

With Boniface originated the celebration of the Jubilee, or holy year, in Rome; which, at first intended to take place at the end of each century, was afterwards fixed for every fiftieth, then every thirty-third, and at last every twenty-fifth, year.[17]

Benedict XI. 1303-1304.

The successor of Boniface was Cardinal Nicholas, Bishop of Ostia; who was immediately elected by the conclave, and crowned by the title of Benedict XI. Though he had received his hat from the late Pope, he was of an entirely different disposition; mild, humble, and pacific; studious for the peace of Italy; and zealous to allay the storm which agitated the ecclesiastical world. His first act, indeed, was the excommunication of Nogaret and Sciarra Colonna, whose violence it was impossible to overlook. But he virtually acquitted King Philip of authorizing that violence, by annulling the act of excommunication, and reinstating him within the pale of the Church. The other members of the Colonna family were also restored to their civil rights, though their spiritual dignity was still denied them.

But the Church was quickly deprived of the mild

[17] The institution of the Jubilee is given by Gibbon (vol. XII. p. 310.) and affords a good specimen of the manner in which he dignifies the events that he relates after the plain and simple Muratori.—It was on the occasion of the first Jubilee, that the sight of ancient Rome, together with the perusal of Virgil, Sallust, Lucan, Livy, Valerius, and Paulus Orosius (a strange association!) inspired Giovanni Villani to compose his Chronicle. Lib. VIII. c. 36.

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virtues of Benedict; and a schism divided the conclave for eleven months. The one party was headed by Cardinal Rosso degl' Orsino, the firm adherent of Boniface; the other by Cardinal da Prato, warmly attached to the King of France. In hopes of deceiving his opponents, Orsino offered to name three Frenchmen, out of whom the adverse party might select one. The proposal was accepted, and Orsino immediately named three prelates, the avowed enemies of Philip; the first on the list being Bertrand de Got, Archbishop of Bourdeaux. Philip was informed by his partisans of this arrangement; and whilst they apparently hesitated in the conclave between the three nominees of Orsino, he dexterously availed himself of this delay by making terms with de Got. He dazzled him by the certain prospect of the popedom; and the ambitious priest agreed to compromise his scruples, and receive the tiara upon six conditions. These were, 1. the full pardon of the King for the seizure of Boniface; 2. the removal of the excommunication from himself and his followers; 3. the grant of the tithes of France for five years; 4. the abolition of the memory of Boniface; 5. the restoration of the Cardinals Colonna to all their dignities; and a sixth, which was not to be disclosed until after the election.[18] The friends of Philip in the conclave, being apprized that these conditions had been accepted, immediately gave their voices in favour of de Got;

[18] Giov. Villani, Lib. VIII. c. 80.—Dupin, vol. XII. c. 1.

and the party of Orsino too late perceived they had been out-manœuvred by their more crafty adversaries. But they were still more astonished and afflicted when they received a summons to attend the coronation at Lyons; where, in the presence of the King and his brother Charles de Valois, the Pontiff was installed by the title of Clement V. An accident which proved fatal to many threw a deep and ominous gloom over the ceremony. A wall overloaded with spectators gave way at the moment of the procession passing on its return from the church. Clement was himself struck from his horse, and his tiara defiled by the dust; his brother and John, Duke of Bretainy, with many nobles, were crushed to death; and Charles de Valois escaped with severe injury.[19]

Clement V. 1304-1314.

Though Boniface had held out to Albert the promise of the kingdom of France, that Prince was probably too well acquainted with the character of Philip to be sanguine in his expectations. His views were directed to an opposite quarter; and the long-cherished enmity which he bore to his brother-in-law, the King of Bohemia, induced him to attempt his ruin and the appropriation of his dominions. Grounds were not wanting for this hostility: but the chief cause lay in the encroaching ambition of Albert, which displayed itself in almost every act of his reign. Wenceslaus IV. for a time united in himself the three crowns of Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary. To the first he suc-

[19] Murat. Ann. 1305.—Père Daniel, tom. V. p. 122.

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1300. ceeded on the death of his father, Ottocar II. in 1278: the second he obtained on the deposition of Uladislaus III. surnamed *Loketec*, or the short; the third he received from the nobles who opposed the succession of Charobert,[20] and by their per-

1302. mission he assigned it over to his son. But his hereditary crown was the only one he was permitted to retain; and with the loss of this he was now threatened by the man whose sister he had married, and to whom he had rendered the most essential service in promoting his elevation to the German throne.

Albert invades Bohemia. 1304. Under pretence that Wenceslaus unjustly refused to share the produce of the mines of Kuttenberg, Albert invaded Bohemia; whilst the Hungarians, at his instigation, attacked Moravia, which they entirely devastated. He penetrated as far as Kuttenberg, and laid siege to that city; but want of provisions, and a pestilence which broke out in his army, compelled him to relinquish his enterprise; and he marched back into his own territories, resolved to renew his attack in the ensuing year.

Death of Wenceslaus IV.; 1305. The premature death of Wenceslaus anticipated the intended expedition; and Albert was content to spare his nephew, upon condition of his ceding the district of Egra, and doing homage for the kingdom of Bohemia.

And of Wenceslaus V. 1306. The young Wenceslaus V. perished soon afterwards by the dagger of an assassin, and the default of male heirs presented a new opportunity to Albert

[20] Vide ante, page 364.

for laying claim to Bohemia, on behalf of his eldest son Rodolph. Wenceslaus V. left two sisters, Anne and Elizabeth; the former married to Henry, Duke of Carinthia. In virtue of this marriage, Henry now set up his pretensions to the Bohemian crown; but Albert, insisting upon its having reverted to the Empire, succeeded in procuring his son's election; and Rodolph (who had become a widower) fortified his possession by espousing Elizabeth of Poland, the widow of Wenceslaus IV.[21]

Rodolph King of Bohemia.

The ambitious views of Albert were destined to be continually baffled. Rodolph was suddenly cut off; and the claim of Henry of Carinthia being now allowed by the Bohemians, he was immediately elected their sovereign. Albert in vain asserted his rights, and put forward his second son Frederic; but finding no encouragement, he determined to attain his object by force. He therefore invaded the territories of Henry, and again laid siege to Kuttenberg, but this attempt was not more successful than the former; and he was beaten back by the Bohemian troops, leaving Henry in secure possession of the throne.[22]

Henry, King of Bohemia. 1307.

Albert defeated by the Bohemians;

In the following year, this restless Prince engaged in a contest for which not a shadow of excuse existed. The sons of Albert of Thuringia, who had been curtailed of part of their territory by the money and troops of Adolphus, availed themselves of his death, and took possession of the lands and castles which had been wrested from them. Though

[21] Struvius, p. 548.

[22] Pfeffel, p. 459.

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King Albert had continually denied the title of his predecessor, he resolved to imitate his example in forcibly attempting to become master of Thuringia and Misnia. He accordingly invaded those provinces; but his pride received a new shock in this unwarrantable aggression; and in a memorable battle fought near Lucka, in the district of Altenburg, his army was utterly defeated by Frederic I. Landgrave of Thuringia. His mortification was further increased by the vigorous reprisals of the conqueror, who quickly possessed himself of the imperial cities of Altenburg, Chemnitz, and Zwickau, and a portion of the neighbouring territory, which Rodolph of Hapsburg had overrun and annexed to the kingdom of Germany.[23]

And by the Margrave of Thuringia. 1308.

The wholesome lesson to be learned from adversity was altogether lost upon the ambitious Albert; and he returned beaten and disgraced to Austria to put in execution a project of violence, which he had probably long meditated. But his tyrannical designs were doomed to be abortive; his schemes of oppression were dissipated by the valour and constancy of his intended victims; and from the last year of the reign of Albert may be dated the origin of the independence of Switzerland.

[13] Pfeffel. p. 460.—Coxe's House of Austria, vol. I. p. 106—112.

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SWITZERLAND.—DEATH OF ALBERT I.

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Origin of the Swiss.

In ancient days, a mighty people who inhabited the northern world were grievously afflicted by famine. In the general distress it was resolved that lots should be cast, and every tenth man should migrate with his family to some other countr . Accordingly, a multitude of men and women departed with loud lamentation, and journeyed on towards the south of Europe. They fought their way through Germany, and arrived in that part of Helvetia where the Muotta flows between the meadows. No trace of human footsteps was to be seen, until they advanced to the borders of the Forest-lake, where they discovered the solitary inhabitant of a wretched hut, the master of a crazy ferry-boat. But the lake was agitated by tempest and forbad their passage, aud the wanderers began to examine the spot where they were thus compelled to halt. They admired the beautiful woods and refreshing springs, which forcibly reminded them of their native land; and resolving here to fix their abode, they laid the foundation of the town of Schwytz. As their numbers increased they began to occupy the opposite shores of the

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lake; part repaired to the Black Mountain,[1] where in the centre of the forest[2] they built the town of STANZ; whilst others departed to the Whitelands,[3] and founded ALTORF in the valley of the Reuss.

Such was the tradition which prevailed among the shepherds, and which has been immortalized by a modern poet.[4] However disinclined to trust so vague a testimony, we may be assured that, before the twelfth century, a tribe of hardy people called *Schweitzers* resided in the meadows and mountains which surround the lake of Lucerne. How long they had there been settled, their obscurity prevents us from discovering; for they were first brought to notice by Gerard, Abbot of Einsidlin, who charged the inhabitants of Schweitz before the Emperor Henry V. with having driven their cattle upon the lands of his Abbey. They refused to obey the mandate of the Emperor; and, strengthened by the alliance of the people of Uri and Unterwalden, were resolved to vindicate their freedom. But they listened with complacency to a message from Frederic I. which promised them protection; and six hundred Swiss volunteered to attend the Emperor in the Italian wars.[5]

The Cantons of Schweitz, Uri, and Unterwalden.

The Swiss, thus sprung from a common stock, but now scattered over the vallies and mountains,

[1] Mount Brunig, in Unterwalden. [2] The Kernwald. [3] In Uri.

[4] Schiller;—William Tell. Act 2d. Scene 2d.—In this delightful play, the poet has seized upon every historical incident with admirable effect.

[5] Planta, vol. I. c. IV.

were gradually distinguished into three divisions, or *Cantons*. As part of the ancient kingdom of Burgundy, they were subject to the Emperors and their commissaries, but they still preserved their original institutions. They elected their own chief-magistrate, or *Landamman;* their general assemblies were held at Wieserlen; at Sarnen, the Landamman and jurors administered justice for the people above the forest; and a similar tribunal was provided at Stanz for those below it. Every attempt to extend the imperial authority was jealously resisted; from Frederic II. they obtained a decree, which recognized them as the *voluntary* subjects of the Empire; and Rodolph of Hapsburg throughout his reign continued their friend and patron.[6]

The Lords and Cities of Helvetia.

The country which surrounded the three Cantons of Schweitz, Uri, and Unterwalden, and which had once constituted part of the kingdom of Burgundy and dutchy of Swabia, was occupied by ecclesiastical and secular lords, and by the imperial cities. Amongst the first of these, the most conspicuous by their wealth and importance were the bishops of Basle, Constance, Geneva, and Lausanne, and the abbots of St. Maurice, Einsidlen, and St. Gall: in the second class, were the dukes of Zæringen, and the counts of Savoy, Hapsburg, Kyburg, Gruyeres, and Neuchatel. Amongst the cities, Zurich, Schaffhausen, Basle, Lucerne, and Soleure were the most ancient and powerful; whilst Fri-

[6] Planta, ch. IV.—Gibbon, Introduction à l' histoire des Suisses. Misc. Works. vol. III. p. 253.

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burg[7] and Berne, of a later date, had risen rapidly into consideration. These, like the Lords, admitted the supremacy of the Emperors; but they assumed or obtained the right of choosing their own magistrates, and were endowed with varions privileges and franchises by the imperial favour.

First Compact of the Swiss. Aug. 1291.

The rapacious character of Albert was duly appreciated by the Swiss. When they learnt the death of Rodolph, their friend and protector, the cantons of Schweitz, Uri, and Unterwalden assembled together, and solemnly bound themselves by oath to resist by every means any attack upon each others lives and property. Many of the great lords, dreading the ambition of the Duke of Austria, put forth their strength to oppose his election, and favoured his rival Adolphus. The Swiss received a charter of immunities from Adolphus, and swore allegiance to his government. After the death of Adolphus and the election of Albert, they sent deputies to the King at Strasburg, and were alarmed by an intimation that a new system of government was shortly to take place in their territories. They had soon reason to be convinced that this hint was but too well founded.[8]

Amongst the projects of Albert for aggrandising his family, he conceived the design of establishing a principality in favour of one of his sons, which should embrace Alsace, Swabia, and his patrimo-

[7] Friburg owes its rise to Berthold IV. Duke of Zæringen, about 1178.—Berne was founded by his son Berthold V. in 1191.

[8] Planta, chap. VI.

nial possessions in Helvetia. The abbeys of Murbach, Einsidlen, and Interlachen, and the canons of Lucerne, sold him their possessions and rights in Glaris, Lucerne, Schweitz, and Unterwalden; and, in furtherance of his design, he resolved to attack the liberties of the three forest-cantons, whose lands intervened between his own estates.[9] He began by attempting to pursuade them to place themselves under the house of Austria; reminded them of the benefits received from his father; and promised to be their immediate patron, the guardian of their lives and property. But the brave Swiss valued their liberty too dearly to yield to this insidious persuasion; they replied to his message by a grateful acknowledgment of Rodolph's favour; declared their desire to live as their ancestors had done before them; and demanded of the King a recognition of their rights and privileges, in the same manner as they had been guaranteed by his predecessors.

In order the better to enforce this demand, they despatched Werner, Baron of Attinghausen, their Landamman, to Albert, in hopes that the presence of this nobleman might procure for them that charter, which Albert appeared anxious to withhold. But the King evaded an audience, and Werner returned in the full conviction, that the Swiss had little to hope from their new sovereign.

At length Albert yielded to their repeated demands for a magistrate, who might exercise crimi-

[9] Pfeffel, p. 460.

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nal jurisdiction in the name of the Empire. Hitherto these functionaries had been selected from the higher nobility of the neighbouring provinces, who were known to, and respected by, the Swiss; but the Governors or Bailiffs who now arrived among them were of a very different description. These were Herman Gesler of Bruneck and Berenger Landenberg, both men of good family, but known to be obsequiously devoted to the tyrant's will.

Gesler, Governor of Schweitz and Uri. Landenberg, Governor of Unterwalden. 1304.

On former occasions, the imperial commissaries had visited the cantons only when their functions required their presence; but the new governors permanently settled themselves in the country. Landenberg took up his abode in one of the King's castles near Sarnen; and Gesler, finding no residence suitable to his purposes, proceeded to build a strong fortress near Altorf, which he designated by the inauspicious name of "The Curb of Uri."[10]

From the moment of the arrival of these men, the cheerfulness and content which characterized the Swiss were clouded by distrust and suspicion. Heavy dues were exacted, and punishments hitherto unknown instituted and inflicted. It was obvious that, whatever might be the wish of Albert, his ministers were determined to run a career of extortion and oppression. The nobles who resided among the Swiss were slighted and despised; and the substantial proprietor, who felt an honest pride in his rural wealth, was reviled as a low-born peasant, and trampled upon by the minions of his

[10] *Zwing Uri.*

sovereign. Yet the people still bore their injuries with patience, and attempted no resistance, whilst their moderation served only to encourage the severity of their tyrants. Gesler caused a high pole to be erected in the market-place of Altorf, on which he placed his hat, and decreed that all who passed should pay to it the same reverence as to the Emperor's own person. Happy for the opressors had they confined themselves to such idle mockeries. Henry von Melchthal, a venerable inhabitant of Unterwalden, had incurred the displeasure of Landenberg, who sequestered his team of oxen, intimating that peasants ought to draw their own ploughs. The high-spirited Arnold, the son of Henry, irritated at the insolent conduct of the man who came to seize the oxen, struck him and broke one of his fingers. Arnold saved himself by flight; but the aged Henry was arrested and deprived of his eyes by the ferocious Landenberg, who confiscated all his property, and drove him out from his house to wander in poverty and darkness.

Events occurred which made it necessary for the Swiss to take some decided step for the preservation of their freedom. All appeal to Albert was in vain; the fury of his governors was already let loose upon the unfortunate people; and the well-merited destruction of two of their dependents annihilated all hope of conciliation. The keeper of the castle of Schwanau in Schweitz, having ravished a young girl of respectable family, was

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slain by her brothers; and an attempt on the chastity of his wife was punished in a similar manner by Conrad Baumgarten. Wolfenschies, though himself a Swiss, had received from Landenburg the command of Rossberg Castle, and was distinguished by the licentiousness and profligacy of his manners. Passing one day through Alzellen, he was attracted by the charms of a young peasant; and entering her house began to enquire into her circumstances. She informed him that her husband's name was Baumgarten, and that he was then engaged in felling wood in the neighbouring forest; and Wolfenschies perceived a favourable opportunity to gratify his illicit passions. He bad her prepare for him a bath, and insisted she should partake of it with him. All resistance was vain; she was alone, and her seducer was accompanied by two attendants. Nothing but dissimulation could save her; and, with that art which rarely forsakes a woman, she feigned a reluctant compliance with his desires, and only requested him to dismiss his servants. Going into an adjoining room under pretence of undressing, she flew to her husband, and explained to him the danger which awaited them. The indignant Baumgarten hastened to his house: he found Wolfenschies alone and stripped for his unhallowed purpose; and falling on him, immediately put him to death with his axe.

Wolfenschies slain by Baumgarten. 1306.

At this juncture, Werner Stauffacher, descended from a reputable and wealthy family, conceived

the project of ridding his country of its tyrants. He had himself been exposed to the malice of Gesler, who remarked with indignation his substantial and handsome house, and alarmed him by affirming that it belonged not to him, but to the King his master. Labouring with apprehension, he resolved to open his mind to his friend Walter Furst of Attinghausen in Uri; and crossing the lake entered Walter's house, where he found concealed the unfortunate son of Henry von Melchthal. The cruel treatment of his father inflamed Arnold to madness; the tyranny of their oppressors appeared insupportable; and the three patriots agreed to sound their most trusty friends in their respective cantons, swearing to deliver themselves and their country by all justifiable means.

Werner of Schweitz.

Walter of Uri.

Arnold of Unterwalden.

Their first conference. 1307.

Returning to their homes, they cautiously divulged the secret to those they deemed trustworthy, and found only one sentiment prevalent among them. Assured of the co-operation of their countrymen, they fixed upon the field of Rutli, (or Grütli), which lay in a sequestered vale near the boundary of Uri and Unterwalden; and here, at the dead hour of midnight, Werner, Walter, and Arnold, attended by their select friends, frequently held secret meetings. On the night of the tenth of November 1307, the three, attended every one by ten associates, met in Rutli, and bound themselves by the most solemn oath[11] to rescue their native land from the thraldom of the house of

The field of Rutli.

[11] Hence their name, *Eidgenossen*.

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Hapsburg. It was afterwards agreed that the Castles of Rossberg and Sarnen, and Gesler's hateful fortress, should be seized by force or stratagem; and the first day of the ensuing year was appointed for their glorious enterprise.

William Tell.

Before that day arrived, the tyrant Gesler was assassinated. There is so much of romance in the account of his destruction by the hand of William Tell, that the renowned exploits of this far-famed marksman have been questioned by modern scepticism. Though his vengeance neither assisted nor retarded the conspiracy, he has been celebrated as the deliverer of the Swiss; while the real authors of their independence have been cast into the shadow. According to the popular story, the omission of Tell to salute the hat of Altorf exposed him to the wrath of Gesler, who apprized of his skill with the cross-bow, condemned him to shoot at an apple placed upon the head of his son. The father's skill did not forsake him in this agonizing trial; the aim was sure, the apple was hit, and the boy remained untouched. But when questioned for what purpose he had provided himself with another arrow, Tell rashly answered, that had he wounded his son, the second arrow was destined for the heart of Gesler. He was instantly seized and bound; and the governor resolved himself to convey him across the lake, and immure him in a distant dungeon. A storm overtook the vessel on the lake, which compelled the cruel Gesler to have recourse to the skill of his victim; and Tell,

released from his chains, was entrusted with the care of the helm. He availed himself of this accident to effect his escape; running close upon the shore the intrepid archer sprang from the barge, and safely gained a footing, while Gesler and his train were abandoned to their fate, but were saved from destruction by the cessation of the tempest. Dreading the vengeance of the tyrant, Tell soon after waylaid him as he journeyed through the mountains, and struck him dead with an arrow from the unerring bow.[12]

This last exploit of Tell excludes him from the glory of the Helvetic Confederacy. The main design of the conspirators was the expulsion, not the death, of their oppressors; and the murder of Gesler, however palliated by the circumstances, militated against their principle. Tell must, therefore, have been ignorant of the conspiracy, or content to risk its success by this premature act of retribution. Certain it is that the grand enterprise, although imparted to hundreds of the Swiss, was religiously concealed in the breasts of all concerned; and the night of the 31st of December arrived, without the least suspicion on the part of the imperial officers.

Seizure of the imperial castles. 1308.

The seizure of the castles of Rossberg and Sarnen was the first object; and this was without

[12] The story of the apple is extremely apocryphal, and has been traced to a similar adventure related by Saxo Grammaticus. That Tell murdered Gesler does not appear to have been questioned; and a chapel was founded in 1388, commemorative of the tyrant's death, in the presence of 114 persons, who had known Tell thirty years before.

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difficulty accomplished. A youth of Unterwalden was beloved by a female domestic of Rossberg, and her lover contrived to pay her nightly visits by a rope suspended from her window. No sooner had the year 1307 expired, than the amorous conspirator ascended the rope, and was followed by twenty of his associates; and the guards being easily overpowered and secured, the doors were unbarred, and the capture completed. At break of day, a few of the conspirators repaired, with the usual new-year's presents, to the castle of Sarnen; and so little was their purpose suspected, that Landenburg, who met them by the way, complimented them upon their liberality, and ordered them admittance. Once within the walls they drew forth their secreted weapons; and the sound of a horn immediately brought to their assistance their companions, who lay concealed in the neighbouring wood.

Expulsion of the imperial officers.

These important fortresses being secured, the whole country rose in arms. The castle of Gesler was seized and demolished by the men of Uri; and the Schweitzers possessed themselves of the castle of Schwanau. Landenberg and his party, confounded by this general movement, attempted to escape; but he was captured near Sarnen; and, together with all the imperial retainers, was conveyed to the frontiers of the cantons. After compelling them to swear never again to enter the country, the captors permitted them to depart; and the reviving people again breathed the air of free-

dom. Thus was this great revolution completed by the cool and steady perseverance of the confederates; and their glory acquires additional lustre from the fact, that not a single drop of blood was shed in the atchievement. The three cantons now renewed their engagement of mutual defence; and a solemn compact was entered into, by which they reciprocally bound one another by swearing to preserve an alliance of ten years.[13]

Albert marches against the Swiss.

Albert heard with indignation the bold proceedings of a people whom he had despised as a band of peasants. Baffled in his iniquitous designs upon Thuringia, he resolved to wreak his vengeance upon the Swiss, and set out for Baden, where he convened an assembly of nobles, and commanded them to levy their troops, and aid him in chastising the audacious mountaineers. The cantons awaited undismayed the approaching storm, when an event wholly unforeseen, rescued them from the impending danger. A conspiracy was formed against the life of Albert, at the head of which was John, Duke of Swabia, son of the King's late brother Rodolph. The estates of the young prince had been entrusted to the care of Albert; but though John had now attained the age of maturity his uncle was importuned in vain to yield him possession of his hereditary property. Galled by this unjust and repeated refusal, and jealous of the splendour which surrounded his cousin Leopold, John resolved to be avenged; and was encouraged in his dark de-

[13] Pfeffel, p. 460.—Planta, chap. VI.—Gibbon, Introduction, &c. p. 266.

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sign by Walter, Baron of Eschenbach, Rodolph, Baron of Wart, and Rodolph of Barm, nobles who were weary of the tyranny of their sovereign. Albert set out from Baden to Rheinfelden, and arrived at the ferry over the Reuss at Windish, which he crossed in company with the conspirators, who had contrived to detach him from his attendants. As he was leisurely riding through a corn field, in conversation with Walter Castellen, he was furiously attacked by his enemies. His nephew John thrust a spear into his neck, Barm clove his head with a sword, and Wart ran him through the body.[14] The dying King fell weltering in blood to the earth, and was found dead by his attendants in the arms of a poor woman, who supported his head in his expiring agony.[15]

Assassination of Albert. 1st May 1308.

Thus perished Albert, in the sight of the Castle of Hapsburg, where the glory of his family had grown and flourished. Of the assassins, Wart alone was seized and put to death. The parricide John escaped into Italy in the habit of a monk,

[14] Struvius, p. 551.—Other writers ascribe the blows differently.—But, in the hurry and terror of the moment, accuracy in discerning the motions of the assassins is not to be expected.

[15] Dante imprecates vengeance on Albert for his neglect of Italy in that splendid burst,

O Alberto tedesco!—&c. Purg. cant. VI. v. 97.

and Ariosto treats his death as a judgment for his own and his father's breach of trust;—

Alberto cade
Per man del suo nipote, vedi alquanti
Vendicarsi le terre che già foro
Da Cesar date alla custodia loro.
Rime. Stanz. 82. Opere, Firenze, tom. V. p. 353.

and died in obscurity.[16] Barm was never more heard of; and after a lapse of thirty-five years, a shepherd of Wurtemberg, in his last moments, discovered himself to be Walter, Baron of Eschenbach. But though the perpetrators of the bloody deed themselves escaped punishment, their relatives and dependents, no wise concerned in the murder, suffered a cruel persecution. Duke Leopold, the third son of Albert, marched against the castle of Wart, which he took and demolished, putting to the sword all whom he found within it. A similar fate awaited the castles and retainers of Barm and Eschenbach; and the brother of the former was despoiled of his estates, and driven in poverty from the seat of his ancestors.

In this persecution, Agnes, Queen of Hungary, the daughter of Albert, particularly distinguished herself by her bloodthirsty ferocity. She was with difficulty prevented from strangling the infant child of Eschenbach; and broke out into expressions of intense delight, whilst she beheld the blood streaming from her victims. Yet this fiend in woman's shape has been held up as a model of sanctity; and the foundation of the Abbey of Kœnigsfelden, on the spot where her father perished, seems to have been considered as ample atonement for her cruelties. To a cell near this abbey she, who had principally shared in this deli-

[16] Henry VII. saw him at Pisa in 1313. A blind beggar, who many years afterwards received alms in Vienna, asserted that he was the natural son of John.

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berate murder of more than a thousand innocent persons, afterwards retired; and spent the remainder of her life in celebrating masses and religious ceremonies![17]

[17] Planta, ub. sup.—Coxe's Austria, p. 119.

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REIGN OF HENRY VII.—REVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF ITALY.—DEATH OF HENRY VII.

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Of the candidates for the vacant throne, the two principal were Frederic, son of the late King, and Charles de Valois, brother of Philip IV. King of France. Since his election Pope Clement V. had continued to reside in the French dominions, and had obsequiously followed the dictates of the King. By his desire, Clement had commenced proceedings against the illustrious order of the Templars,[1] and Philip doubted not of his brother's success through the means of the obedient Pontiff. But Clement had lately grown alarmed at the vehemence with which Philip pressed for further persecuting the memory of Boniface; and though he evaded the proposed measures of the King by referring them

[1] The proceeding against the Templars is related in full by Daniel, tom. V. p. 144–158; and the matter is canvassed with great fairness by Dupin, vol. XII. c. 2.—M. Sismondi (ch. XVI.) seems to acquit the persecuted body as *entirely* guiltless;—a prodigious stain on the characters of Philip and Clement.—Perhaps we may more safely conclude with Rapin (Hist. d' Angleterre, tom. III. p. 137), that "*all* the Templars suffered the pains which *some* of the order had doubtless incurred." See also Struvius, p. 575. and note (30); the Edinburgh Review for Oct. 1806, vol. IX. p. 196. on M. Raynouard's Tragedy and Dissertation; and M. R.'s note in Michaud Hist. des Croisades, tom. IV. Pièces justificatives, no. IX.

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to the approaching Council of Vienne, he trembled at the thought of seeing on the imperial throne the brother of the man, whose obvious object was the humiliation and subjection of the holy see. In this dilemma, Clement cast his eyes upon Henry, Count of Luxemburg, a prince of unblemished reputation; by a secret express to the Electors, he intimated the prudence of excluding the brother of Philip; and the Electors, who fully agreed upon this point, unanimously raised Henry to the throne.

Election of Henry VII. 1308.

Sensible of the danger of a longer residence in the French dominions, the Pope resolved to settle at Avignon, which formed part of the territory of the King of Naples; and he thus deprived Italy for nearly a century of her spiritual head and father. Philip, though he plainly discovered the author of his brother's rejection, suppressed his indignation: he was too intent upon the ruin of the Templars to hazard a rupture with the Pope, whose co-operation in this work was so necessary to its accomplishment. He saw with displeasure the removal of the holy see from his dominions; but the only means he took of gratifying his revenge, was to press more eagerly upon Clement the embarrassing requisition for the exhumation of Boniface, and the most signal insults to his memory.[2]

The holy see fixed at Avignon. 1309.

[2] Pfeffel, p. 464.—Daniel, tom. V. p. 134.—Cardinal Rossq degl' Orsini clearly foresaw this effect of Clement's election. He told Cardinal da Prato, "Assecutus es voluntatem tuam in ducendo Curiam ultrà montes, sed tarde revertetur Curia in Italiam."—Giannone, Lib. XXII. c. VIII. s. 1.—The Italian historians are unsparingly bitter in their accounts of the Popes of Avignon; whilst their characters have been zealously vindicated by Baluze,

Henry was crowned King of the Romans at Aix-la-Chapelle; and sent ambassadors to Clement, formally to announce his election, and to fix a time for receiving the imperial crown. Amongst his first acts was the recognition of the privileges of the three Swiss cantons; and by a special diploma he declared them exempt from the jurisdiction of the house of Austria. He caused the remains of his two predecessors Adolphus and Albert to be disinterred, and placed them in separate coffins in the cathedral of Spires, the sacred depository of the Emperors. He concluded an alliance with Philip IV. and promised to invest his son Philip with the *county* of Burgundy.[3]

The acquisition of the crown of Germany was soon followed by that of Bohemia. The oppressive government of Henry of Carinthia had occasioned universal disaffection; and the princess Elizabeth, daughter of Wenceslaus IV. flew from the tyranny of her brother-in-law, and took refuge at the court of Germany. The nobles earnestly besought assistance from Henry of Luxemburg, and offered to transfer the crown to his son John. The deposition of Henry of Carinthia was easily effected; and John was crowned at Prague King of Bohemia.[4]

John, King of Bohemia. 1310.

The distracted state of Italy, where the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellins continued to rage

State of Italy.

and other French writers. It is somewhat disheartening to a searcher after truth to compare the violent invectives on the one hand with the warm encomiums on the other. See Giannone, ub. sup. Murat. Ann. 1342. and Gibbon, vol. XII. p. 308.

[3] Pfeffel, p. 469.

[4] Struvius, p. 558.

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with unabated fury, resolved Henry to visit that country, and there to receive the imperial crown. Sixty years had elapsed since the Italians had beheld an Emperor; and the arrival of Henry was anxiously desired by the Ghibellins, whose power was endangered by the arts and ambition of Robert, King of Naples, the devoted adherent of the Pope. Though the Lombard Republics had so nobly triumphed over the oppressions of the Frederics, the perpetual recurrence of contention among themselves entirely deprived them of the sweets of independence. Not content with their internal revolution, they continued their aggressions upon one another; and as the prevailing party happened to be Guelph or Ghibellin, their alliances were formed and their attacks directed. Thus harassing and harassed, the Lombards beheld their fellow-citizens butchered in their streets, their lands laid waste, and a threatening army, led by their exiled countrymen, continually at their gates. The prevailing Guelphs, amidst these complicated dissensions, felt the expedience of obtaining a support more powerful than their individual resources. Many cities, therefore, had listened without repugnance to the offer of Charles I. of Anjou to become their *Lord*, and were content to purchase his *protection* by an annual tribute; whilst Pavia and Asti, supported by the Genoese and the Marquis of Montferrat, may be recorded as the only active opponents of the Sicilian monarch.[5]

I. The Lombard Republics.

[5] Murat. Ann. 1273. 1274.

In Milan, the nobles and commons were at perpetual variance. The latter were headed by the family of the Torriani; and after the victory of Martino dalla Torre over Eccelino da Romano, his services were rewarded by being chosen Lord of the city. Apprehensive of the power of the nobles, Martino called the Marquis Palavacino to his assistance; and the government of Milan was consigned to him for five years. At the expiration of that period, Filippo, brother and successor of Martino, found himself sufficiently strong to dispense with his ally, and the Marquis quitted the city with reluctance and indignation. But another family soon appeared as the rivals of the Torriani. On a vacancy in the archbishopric of Milan, the nobles and people were divided in their choice, and the Pope named Ottone Visconte to the vacant see. Filippo dalla Torre dying in 1265, his cousin Napoleone was proclaimed Lord of Milan; and his resistance to Ottone proved fatal to the power of his family. The Archbishop obtained the aid of William V. Marquis of Montferrat, and gained possession of Milan; he presented that nobleman to the Milanese as their *Captain* for five years;[6] and compelled the Torriani to retire from the city. But jealousies soon arose between the Captain and the Archbishop, and each was keenly bent on the other's ruin. Taking advantage of the Marquis's absence, Ottone seized upon the public palace,

Milan.

1259. The Torriani.

1261. The Visconti.

1276.

1283.

[6] With an annual salary of 10,000 lire, and a daily allowance of an hundred more. Murat. Ann. 1278.

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drove out the officers of his antagonist, and resisted his efforts to return. The Marquis now received into his favour the Torriani, and strengthened himself by marrying his daughter to the Greek Emperor Andronicus II. to whom he assigned the kingdom of Thessalonica as a dowry. Ottone, on the other hand, obtained assistance from Rodolph of Hapsburg, King of the Romans; he gave the command of his troops to his nephew Matteo Visconte;

1289. and entered into a league with Genoa, Pavia, Cremona, Asti, Placentia, and Brescia, together with Amadeus V. Count of Savoy, who were all anxious to depress the growing power of the aspiring Marquis. The struggle was terminated by the seizure and captivity of William at Alessandria; and in

1292. that city he was exhibited in an iron cage, until his decease in 1292.[7] By his death the power of the Visconti was confirmed in Milan; and the family maintained the sovereignty, with a temporary interruption, until its extinction in the course of nature during the fifteenth century.[8] Early in the four-

1295. teenth, their power was suspended. Matteo, the successor of Ottone, incurred the enmity of Alberto Scotto, Lord of Placentia; and an extensive conspiracy was set on foot for the downfal of the Lord of Milan. By a mixture of fraud and force that end was accomplished; Matteo was reduced to the lowest abyss of misfortune, and the Torriani again

1302. triumphed in that city. But Visconte, though an

[7] See Dante, Purgatorio, cant. VII. v. 134.

[8] Murat. ad annos.—Sismondi, Rep. Ital tom. III. p. 261. tom. IV. p. 212.

exile, was still formidable; and his confidential friend Francesco da Garbagnate resided at the German court, and stimulated Henry to the Italian expedition. Even amongst the Torriani dissensions prevailed; Guido dalla Torre, Lord of Milan, expelled his kinsman the Archbishop; who earnestly besought the interference of Henry, and even entered into a league with the Visconti.[9]

Before the end of the thirteenth century, almost all the cities of Lombardy had given themselves up to some predominant noble. In the year 1288, Modena surrendered her liberty to Obizzo II. Lord of Ferrara; and two years afterwards, Reggio, torn by civil commotion, imitated her example. They remained the subjects of the house of Este until 1306, when weary of their servile state they revolted from Azzo VIII. and drove his officers from their walls.

Modena. 1288-1306.

Reggio. 1290-1306.

Placentia, like Milan, had been long convulsed by the struggles of her Guelph nobles and her Ghibellin people; and at length gave herself to Palavacino, whom she elected her perpetual Lord. But in the year 1257 a conspiracy drove him from the city, of which, however, he contrived to repossess himself in 1261. He was again expelled in 1266, and the distracted state placed herself under the protection of Charles I. King of Sicily. After the death of Charles, Alberto Scotto seized upon the government, and was expelled by the Guelphs in 1304. By the triumph of his partisans

Placentia. 1254-1310.

1271.

1290.

1304.

[9] Murat. Ann. 1210.

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the Ghibellins, he again became Lord in 1309, again to be driven out in the ensuing year.

Verona. 1259.

Verona, delivered from the tyranny of Eccelino, chose for her Podestà, Mastino dalla Scala; whom

1262.

she soon afterwards created her Captain and Lord. A conspiracy against him which proved abortive

1269.

served, as usual, to increase his strength; and though he himself was assassinated in 1277, his brother Alberto quietly succeeded to his power; which his sons Bartolomeo,[10] Alboino, and Cane

Vicenza.

successively enjoyed. The fate of Vicenza was still more inglorious; after groaning under the tyranny of Alberico da Romano, the brother of Eccelino, she was delivered by the Paduans only to become their dependent, and her liberty was

Padua.

lost for ever. Padua, however, was herself soon doomed to bend beneath the strong hand of the family of Carrara, who for many years exercised the government.

Mantua.

After the death of Frederic II. Mantua fell under subjection to Ricardo, Count of San-Bonifazio; and of his son Lodovico; but the latter being expelled in 1270, Pinamonte de' Bonacossi was proclaimed *Lord* of Mantua. He continued to reign there until 1291, when he was deposed and imprisoned by his son Bardelone; who was in his turn expelled in 1299 by his nephew Bottisella, and died miserably, three years afterwards, in exile at Padua.

[10] The feud between the Montagues and the Capulets, glanced at by Dante (Montecchi e Cappelletti. Purg. c. vi. v. 106.) appears to have been at its height during the government of Bartolomeo.

Brescia, after her deliverance from Eccelino, gave herself in 1259 to the Marquis Palavacino, from whose authority she withdrew in 1266. The Guelph and Ghibellin factions continuing to rage, the Brescians surrendered themselves in 1270 to Charles I. and the Ghibellins were expelled the city. But discord still prevailing, the citizens resolved in 1298 to attempt an union, and recalling the exiles, invested their Bishop, Berardo d' Maggi, with the government of five years. At the expiration of that period a new contention arose; the Bishop refused to relinquish his power, and a party of the Guelph nobles who attempted to depose him were overpowered and driven out of the city. On the Bishop's death in 1308 his brother Maffeo was proclaimed Lord of Brescia.

Brescia. 1303.

Pavia, Lodi, and other less considerable cities, all surrendered their freedom, and were governed by their Lords; and even Parma which had so gloriously resisted Frederic II. was gradually undermined by the growing influence of the family of Correggio. At length, Giberto da Correggio was proclaimed Lord of Parma; and distinguished himself by his hostility to Azzo VIII. of Este, from whom he induced Modena and Reggio to rebel. But though Giberto and the Ghibellins lorded it in Parma the Guelphs were still powerful; and in a civil war which devastated the city, Correggio was expelled by the Rossi and Lupi; who were, however, in their turn compelled to fly.

Pavia, Lodi, &c. Parma. 1303. 1308.

Cremona, which suffered severely in the cause

Cremona.

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of Frederic II., elected Palavacino as her Podestà, and endured his government for seventeen years. He was expelled in 1267; and the citizens resisted the artifices of Buoso Doara, who flattered himself with the hope of being their ruler. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, Cremona was one of the few cities who preserved any shew of freedom; and though her Guelph principles exposed her to the attacks of the Ghibellins and reduced her to great extremities, an alliance with Azzo VIII. Lord of Ferrara, enabled her to escape the danger.[11]

1307.

Genoa.

Though Genoa appears to have participated little in the troubles of Lombardy, she continued constantly exposed to internal faction. Her government, which had been shared between the nobles, was revolutionized in 1257; and Guglielmo Boccanegra, the member of a noble house, was invested with almost absolute authority. Instead of supporting the order to which he belonged, it had been the study of this man to win the favour of the subordinate classes, who, dazzled with his real or assumed virtues, abolished the ancient government, and chose him Captain of the city for ten years. But the people were soon weary of their idol; they found him haughty, tyrannical, and unjust; and, with as little hesitation as they had raised him to the sovereignty, they proceeded to complete his overthrow. The city was filled with

[11] Murat. Ann. ad annos.—Giov. Villani, Lib. VIII.—Sismondi, tom. III. and IV.

sedition and murder; the inconstant multitude rallied round the nobles; and Boccanegra, seeing himself totally abandoned, purchased his life by abdication. Though the government was now put upon its ancient footing, the feverish people kept a jealous eye upon their nobles; of whom the Grimaldi, the Fieschi, the Doria, and the Spinola, were the most conspicuous.[12] Meanwhile the Republic was building up her magnificence and glory; her alliance with the Greek Emperor procured her possessions in the East; and her extensive commerce poured abundance into her coffers.

1264.

II. The power and glory of Venice were continually on the increase. Hitherto she had gained no footing on the mainland of Italy; and her attempt to seize Ferrara in 1308 was punished by defeat and the interdict of the Pope. But in the East she made very important acquisitions early in the thirteenth century. The capture of Constantinople in 1202[13] gave her many maritime towns and islands in the Adriatic, the Mediterranean, and the Archipelago;[14] and she purchased the island of Crete or Candia from the Marquis of Montferrat. This last, with the greater part of the Ionian Isles, she retained as her own territory; but unwilling to incur the expense of reducing and

II. Venice.

Her conquests.

[12] Sismondi, tom. IV. 313

[13] This is fully related by Gibbon, vol. XI. chap. LX.

[14] There is great difficulty in ascertaining the names of some of the territories alloted on this occasion to Venice, by reason of their corruption by the scribes. (Gibb. vol. XI. p. 247. n. 7.) See the list in Daru, tom, I. p. 339.

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maintaining her remoter conquests, she assigned them over as fiefs to some of her own nobles.[15] Her relations, however, with the East exposed her to the jealousy of Genoa; and three bloody wars raged, in the thirteenth century, between the merchant-republics. In the two first, the vessels of Venice prevailed; but in the last, the Genoese entered the Adriatic, defeated and burnt the Venetian fleet off Curzola, and by their near approach to the city terrified the inhabitants of Venice. These and other reverses made the Venetians anxious for a respite; and a hollow peace with their rival gave them time to prepare for new, and still more vigorous, contests.[16]

1205. 1261. 1293. 1299.

Government of Venice.

The constitution of Venice underwent a total alteration towards the end of the twelfth century. Until that period, her Doge, elected by the votes or acclamations of her whole population, governed with unlimited authority; and the dread of an outraged people seemed the only curb to his power. The misconduct or ill-fortune of the thirty-seventh Doge, Vitale Michele, led to an entirely different system, both in electing the Doge and administering the government. Instead of leading his fleet to the punishment of an affront offered by the Greek Emperor, Michele suffered himself to be detained at Scio; and the plague there seizing on his armament miserably thinned his numbers. Abandoning his enterprise in the East, he made sail for Venice with the poor remains of his once

[15] Daru, p. 345.

[16] Daru, Liv. V. and VI.

splendid equipment; and by this incautious measure the fatal disease soon made its appearance in the city, with a frightful mortality of the people. Maddened by this misfortune, the multitude swore vengeance against the Doge; and Michele assailed in his palace and unable to appease the sedition, after a vain attempt to escape, perished in the confusion. 1172.

The Forty (I Quaranta.)

From the earliest existence of Venice, a body of forty members had constituted a tribunal of criminal justice. Under the guidance of these ministers of the law, the new system was now set on foot. The city was divided into six quarters, and every quarter named two electors. These electors annually chose from the people a Great Council of four hundred and seventy citizens; who carried on the government, and from whom sixty were chosen, named the *Pregadi,* or Senate. Six counsellors (*i rossi* from their robes), one from each quarter, were appointed to check the power of the Doge; and his election was at first vested in eleven persons. This number was afterwards in 1178 increased to forty, and an additional elector was added in 1249. In 1268, a most complicated machinery was introduced, by which the electors were themselves to be nominated. Thirty were chosen by lot from the Council; and, out of these, a new ballot elected nine. Seven of the nine nominated forty members of the Council; and twelve were elected by lot out of the forty. The twelve then named twenty-five; which number was again

The Great Council.

The Senate.

Election of the Doge.

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reduced by lot to nine; the nine named forty-five, and the forty-five were by ballot reduced to eleven. These finally named the forty-one electors; and a majority of twenty-five was required to substantiate the Doge's election.[17]

These new institutions, whilst they abridged the power of the sovereign, had the effect of totally excluding the people from a voice in his nomination. Their only right had been to appoint a master; and even this was now usurped by the aristocracy. The lower classes could scarcely hope to be admitted to the Council, through which alone they could pass to the election. On the death of Giovanni Dandolo in 1289, the long delay of the electors to name a successor furnished an excuse to the populace to resume their ancient privilege; and they tumultuously hailed Jacopo Tiepolo as their Doge. But Tiepolo, wisely declining an honour thus irregularly conferred, withdrew for a time from Venice; and the forty-one at length fixed on Pietro Gradenigo, a nobleman extremely obnoxious to the people. With him originated a measure which for ever shut out the commonalty:

1297. and the Forty, who were entrusted with the annual election of the Council, were enjoined to re-elect all such members of the *old* council as were not declared unfit by twenty-nine voices. Not to render the people desperate, three commissioners were appointed to make supplemental lists of such *other*

[17] Amelot de la Houssaie, tom. I. p. 13.—Daru, tom. I. p. 425.—Sismondi, tom. III. p. 288.

citizens, as might be fit to fill vacancies caused by the rejection of former, or the death of existing, members of the Council; which lists were in like manner subject to the approval of the Forty. But as three commissioners were appointed by the Council itself, it was easy to foresee that this body would be careful to name such persons only as favoured their own order: and lest the electors should err on the popular side, a decree was soon afterward made, by which they were forbidden to insert any person in their lists, who himself, or whose ancestor, had not formerly belonged to the Great Council. In course of time the commissioners where wholly suppressed; the Council was declared permanent; and all who could prove themselves descended from one of this body were entitled to inscribe their names in the GOLDEN BOOK, and to enter this noble assembly at the age of twenty-five.

1298.

1315.

The Golden Book.

These changes were not effected without some movement on the part of the people: and the suppression of a feeble conspiracy, and the punishment of its leaders, did not deter others from plotting against the power of the aristocracy. A numerous band of citizens, headed by Baiamonte Tiepolo (son of Jacopo), was formed, and extensive preparations were made for the subversion of the government. But detection having prematurely driven the conspirators into open revolt, they were easily overwhelmed and destroyed in the narrow streets of Venice; and this new conspiracy furnished an ex-

1299.

1309.

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The Council of Ten.

cuse for erecting that fearful tribunal, THE COUNCIL OF TEN. This formidable assembly, though originally only a temporary measure, was afterwards, in 1325, declared permanent. It was invested with arbitrary and almost unlimited powers: under pretence of watching over the safety of the Republic, the Ten gradually assumed the government of the state, made peace and war, disposed of the finances, and even abrogated the proceedings of the Great Council.[18] Their spies and emissaries pervaded every quarter of the city; they seized, imprisoned, or put to secret death, without responsibility to any higher authority; whilst no rank was secure from their machinations. Even the Doge himself might tremble at their vigilance and severity; and the fate of Marino Faliero, thirty years after the permanent institution of this Council, forms a striking event in the annals of this extraordinary oligarchy.

Marino Faliero, Doge of Venice, having received an affront from Michele Steno, president of the Forty, preferred a complaint to the Council of Ten; who, viewing the matter in no very serious light, referred it to the consideration of the Forty. A trifling sentence pronounced against Steno drove the Doge to madness: he engaged in a conspiracy to overthrow the government; and was detected in his treason. The Ten, doubtful of their power to judge the head of the state, called in the assistance of twenty nobles; and by this *Giunta* the

[18] Daru, tom. I. p, 575.

Doge was tried, and sentenced to lose his head on the great staircase of the ducal palace. During his decapitation the doors were closed; but no sooner was the head dissevered than they were thrown open; and one of the Council, advancing with the bloody sword of the executioner, pointed out to the awe-struck people the headless trunk of their guilty sovereign.[19]

Decapitation of Marino Faliero. 17th April. 1355.

Thus then the people of Venice, before the middle of the fourteenth century, were stripped of every thing like democratic freedom; whilst a body of hereditary nobility governed their fellow-citizens with a rod of iron. Kept in the profoundest ignorance of the motives and intentions of their rulers, the Venetians were continually subjected to all the consequences of guilt, without conviction or even trial; a mysterious darkness hovered over every transaction of the state; and secure in an impenetrable cloud she looked with piercing eyes upon all around her. Meanwhile her glorious name resounded through Europe. The singular position of the city, a mixture of venerable churches and gorgeous palaces, intersected by noble canals and surrounded by the spacious *Lagune*, gave to Venice a romantic interest, which was continually heightened by the strangeness of her domestic events; and her importance rapidly increased by extensive commercial relations, and success in foreign warfare.

[19] Laugier, Hist. de Venise, tom. IV. p. 64. Edit. Paris, 1760.—Daru, tom. I. p. 635.

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III. The Tuscan Republics.

Pisa.

III. The Tuscan Republics better deserve that title. Of these, the most important during the thirteenth century was Pisa, whose maritime strength long enabled her to emulate the triumphs of Genoa and Venice. But the situation of Genoa and her powerful navy established a rivalry between the two states early in the twelfth century; and they disputed, with little cessation, the sovereignty of the Mediterranean. Towards the close of the thirteenth century, Pisa possessed herself of Sardinia, Corsica, and Elba,[20] and was the strong hold and last resource of the Tuscan Ghibellins. In the year 1283 the naval strength of Pisa and Genoa had attained the highest point; but the fortunes of the latter appeared to preponderate, and in the following year the contest was decided for ever. The capture of eight of her gallies called on Pisa to put forth her utmost powers; and she embarked her most illustrious citizens in seventy-two gallies, besides smaller vessels. Taking advantage of the absence of the Genoese fleet, the Pisan navy entered the bay of Genoa, insulted the city, and triumphantly retired. But the return of the Genoese changed the fate of the war: with eighty-eight gallies and eight *panfili*, they met and attacked the Pisans near the island of Meloria, and a battle so obstinate and bloody had never been fought at sea. The slaughter was immense on both sides; but the superior numbers of the Genoese at last prevailed; the Pisans were totally

Battle of Meloria. 6th Aug. 1284.

[20] Giov. Villani, Lib. VII. c. 84.

defeated; seven of their gallies were sunk; twenty-nine were captured; and eleven thousand prisoners gave rise to a proverb, that Pisa might be seen in Genoa.[21] From this disaster, the state never recovered: the liberty of the Pisans tottered from that day, and fell prostrate in the next age before the fortunes of Florence.[22] No sooner was the defeat known than the Guelphic cities hastened to complete by land the ruin, which Genoa had begun at sea; and the territories of Pisa were beset by the troops of Florence, Siena, and Lucca. After an unsuccessful application for peace to Genoa, the Pisans opened a treaty with the Florentines; and making some territorial cessions, agreed that Pisa should thenceforth adopt a Guelphic government. To negociate this treaty the Pisans employed their admiral, Count Ugolino de' Gherardeschi, whose conduct in the late engagement had exposed him to censure and suspicion. The selection of such a person is unintelligible, and the event proved its blindness. The treaty with Florence was concluded: but Ugolino thereby found means to drive the Ghibellins from the city, and to snatch the reins of government. Meanwhile the Genoese and Lucchese harassed the Pisan territory, and dismantled Porto Pisano and Leghorn; but these powers being pacified by Ugolino, Pisa had time to breathe after her late severe misfortunes.[23]

Count Ugolino, Lord. 1285.

[21] Chi vuol veder Pisa, vada a Genova.

[22] Murat. Ann. 1284.—Giov. Villani, Lib. VII. c. 92.

[23] Murat. Ann. 1285—1288.

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Though the storm was thus silenced without, an internal commotion soon convulsed the city. Ruggieri degl' Ubaldini, Archbishop of Pisa, was the bitter enemy of Ugolino, who had put to death his nephew. The party of the prelate acquired strength in the dissensions of the state; and under his auspices a conspiracy was formed against the Guelphs, to which most of the nobles were accessary. On the appointed day, the people attacked the palace of the governor: his resistance was brave but fruitless; and at length Ugolino, with two of his sons, and two of his grandsons, fell into the hands of his enemies.[24] The sequel of this story, and the tragical deaths of this unhappy family, for ever live in the impassioned verses of the greatest of Italian poets. They were conveyed to a strong tower; the key of their prison was thrown into the Arno; and thus they were left to expire in the agonies of famine.[25]

11th July. 1288.

Death of Ugolino.

[24] According to Muratori, there were *two* sons, and *three* grandsons. Dante makes them all four sons: and Villani (Lib. VII. c. 128.) makes both grandsons the sons of Ugolino's son Guelfo.—But the sons were Gaddo and Uguccione: the grandsons, Nino, son of Guelfo, who was absent; and Anselmuccio, son of Lotto, who was happily dead before this catastrophe. Sism. Rep. Ital. tom. IV. p. 36.—Pignotti (Lib. III. c. 6.) makes one of the grandsons son of Gaddo.

[25] Such cruelties were not uncommon in the middle ages. In 1321 Francesco Bonacossi caused Francesco dalla Mirandola, Governor of Modena, with his two sons, to be loaded with chains and thrown into a dungeon, where they were left to starve. And in 1328 Sozzo and Jacopo de' Vestarini, Lords of Lodi, were betrayed by Pietro Tremacoldo, captain of their guard, and with four of their relations shut into a chest, and left to perish: this, however, was only retaliation; it having been the custom of these Vestarini to *forget* those whom they imprisoned, and laugh when they heard they were crying for food! Murat. ad ann.

The renewal of attack by the Guelph republics induced Pisa to invite to the *Lordship* of their city Guido, Count of Montefeltro, a nobleman signalized by his Ghibellin exploits, and the consequent hatred of the Pope. He was appointed Lord of Pisa for three years; and the city was immediately laid under an interdict by Nicholas IV. The skill and valour of Guido recovered some of their lost possessions; but Genoa was mistress of the sea; the island of Elba was forfeited; the forces of Florence and Lucca infested the coast; and the ruin of Porto Pisano and Leghorn was completed. Wearied by continual losses and entirely broken in spirit, the Pisans humbled themselves before their foes, and submitted to an humiliating treaty; whilst Guido, who had warmly deprecated all thoughts of peace, threw up his command, and disdainfully retired.

Guido di Montfeltro 1289.

Peace with Florence. 1293.

The early history of Lucca, Siena, Pistoia, and Arezzo, is involved in great obscurity. In the middle of the thirteenth century, we find them participating in the schism of the Guelphs and Ghibellins; Lucca declaring for the Guelphs, and the other three for the rival party.[26] Arezzo fortified herself by the alliance of Florence; and Tegghiaio Aldobrandi, a Florentine citizen, became her Podestà.[27] But the jealousy between the nobles and people created internal agitation; and after a momentary triumph the commons were

Lucca.

Arezzo.

[26] Sismondi, tom. III. p. 175.

[27] Ibid. 181. See Dante, Inferno, cant. XVI. v. 41.

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overcome, and the nobles, headed by their bishop, Guglielmo degl' Ubertini, and assisted by foreign Ghibellins, obtained possession of the government.[28] Early in the year 1308, the most oppressive of the nobles were driven from the city; but their exile endured only for a year, when they regained possession; and the Guelphs were in their turn expelled.[29]

1309.

Siena.

In Siena, a third order depressed both nobles and people. A revolution in 1283 abolished the ancient form of government under fifteen magistrates, and an administration composed of nine governors, chosen from the middle classes or merchants, long prevailed in the state.[30] Pistoia, yielding to the arms of Florence, recalled her banished Guelphs, and became dependent on the conqueror. The Florentines, however, purchased this connexion at a dear price; and a memorable quarrel which broke out in Pistoia was transferred with augmented bitterness to Florence. In Pistoia was a rich and powerful family, the Cancellieri, descended from the two wives of their common ancestor, one of whom was named Bianca. After her, the descendants of Bianca called themselves *Bianchi*; whilst those who were sprung from the other wife were distinguished by the name of *Neri*. At a convivial meeting, where many members of

Pistoia. 1253.

[28] Sismondi, tom. IV. p. 56.—Pignotti, Lib. III. c. 7.

[29] These noble oppressors were surnamed *Tarlati*. Giov. Villani, Lib. VIII. c. 99. 107.

[30] Sismondi, tom. IV. p. 55.

this family were present, a quarrel took place; and one of the Bianchi insulted and wounded Dore, a member of the race of Neri. In revenge for this injury, Dore waylaid and wounded another of the Bianchi: but his father, anxious to appease this family feud, compelled him to repair to the house of Guglielmo Cancelliere, the father of the wounded man, in order to make concession and obtain pardon. Guglielmo received the reluctant penitent with vindictive ferocity. He dragged his offending kinsman to a table and chopped off his hand, bidding him return to his father and tell him, "that wounds were to be healed by wounds, not words." This savage act immediately divided the family in deadly conflict; the citizens eagerly took part with the combatants; and the names of *Whites* and *Blacks*, no longer confined to a single family, denoted a furious faction which agitated Pistoia, and spread to other towns of Tuscany.[31] The city, thus torn by dissension, submitted to the dominion of Florence and Lucca; and the interference of the former saved Pistoia from utter destruction, to which she was devoted by the relentless Lucchese.[32]

Bianchi and Neri. 1300.

1303.

1309.

But the annals of the Tuscan cities give place in interest and importance to those of Florence, which was destined to take the lead in war, and to surpass all Italy, and even Europe, in the peace-

Florence.

[31] Giov. Villani, Lib. VIII. c. 38.—Machiavelli, Istoria di Firenze, Lib. II. —Sismondi, tom. IV. p. 97.

[32] Villani, ub. sup. c. 52 65. 82. 111.

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ful arts. In 1207 the Florentines, weary of the government of their consuls and senate, called in a foreign Podestà, to whom they committed the administration of civil and criminal justice.[33] The consuls, however, still managed the affairs of the republic, until an entirely new form of government was introduced in 1250. Early in the thirteenth century, a private quarrel between the families[34] Boundelmonti and Uberti divided the citizens of Florence; and the names of Guelph and Ghibellin were wrested from their original signification to denote the opposite parties. But these terms were subsequently adopted to signify the partisans of the Pope and Emperor; and by the assistance of Frederic II. the Guelphs had been driven from the city. After his death they were permitted to return, and a new and independent form of government was established. Florence was divided into six parts; and each part returning two citizens, the twelve annually chosen were denominated "ANCIENTS." Besides these, two foreign magistrates were selected; the one, "Captain of the People;" the other, "Podestà;" and to them the adjudication of civil and criminal causes was entrusted. For the defence of their territories, the youth of the state were enrolled under several standards; twenty companies being appropriated to the city,

The Guelphs and Ghibellins. 1215.

The Guelphs expelled. 1246.

Government of the *Ancients*. 1250.

[33] The first was Gualfredotto of Milan. Giov. Villani, Lib. V. c. 32.

[34] O Buondelmonte, quanto mal fuggisti
Le nozze sue per gli altrui conforti!
Dante, Parad. cant. XVI. v. 140.

and seventy-six to the country. Under this form of government Florence continued for sixteen years; but the increasing power of the Guelphs alarmed the Ghibellins; who broke into revolt, and were at length driven out of the city. The assistance of Manfred, King of Sicily, enabled them to return; and both parties being now engaged in open warfare, a great battle was fought on the banks of the river Arbia. The Ghibellins, under the command of Farinata degl' Uberti, completely defeated the Guelphs, who were compelled to seek refuge in Lucca; and the total destruction of Florence, the friend and favourite of the Church, was resolved on by all the Ghibellin leaders, save one. That *one* was Farinata:[35] he deprecated the destruction of their common mother, and forcibly and successfully resisted this cruel resolution. Florence was saved: but Lucca, apprehensive of the Ghibellin wrath, compelled the fugitive Guelphs to retire; and they were forced to seek a new asylum in Parma or Bologna. The entrance of Charles of Anjou into Italy revived their hopes; Clement IV. warmly supported their cause; and after an exile of six years, they were reconciled to their foes, and permitted to re-enter Florence. Charles, now King of Sicily, at once became their friend: he sent into the city Gui de Montfort[36] with a strong body of French cavalry: the dis-

The Ghibellins expelled. 1258.

The Guelphs expelled. 1260.

The Guelphs restored. 1266.

[35] Vide Dante, Inferno, cant. X.

[36] The same who afterwards murdered Henry, son of Richard of Cornwall;—an atrocity for which Dante places him in Hell. Inferno, cant. XII. v. 119.

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The Ghibellins quit the city. 1267.

Charles of Anjou, Lord of Florence.

trustful Ghibellins withdrew to Pisa and Siena; and the grateful Guelphs elected Charles Lord of their city. In the vacant state of the Empire, the Pope assumed the right of nominating Charles, Vicar of Tuscany; and his presence soon afterwards completed the depression of the Ghibellins.[37]

During this time the government of Florence was remodelled. After the return of the Guelphs in 1266, the Ghibellins, anxious to strengthen themselves with the people, whom in the absence of their rivals they had not ceased to oppress, were still sufficiently powerful to elect thirty-six *popular* citizens, who together with two Knights of Bologna,[38] were commissioned to reform the state.

The *Arts*.

The city was divided into twelve "*Arts*;"[39] seven greater, and five (afterwards fourteen) less. Each art displayed its distinguishing banner, round which its members might rally when the state required their services; and to each a magistrate was allotted, who might settle the disputes of its members. But the ascendency of Charles of Anjou

[37] Machiavelli, Ist. Fior. Lib. II.—Giov. Villani, Lib. VI. c. 81. VII. c. 15. —Murat. Ann.—The secession of the Ghibellins appears to have been their own act; though it might be inferred from Farinata's speech in the Inferno, cant. X. that they were driven out.

[38] I Frati Godenti of Dante, Infern. cant. XXIII.

[39] The seven greater Arts, guilds, or companies, were already established in Florence; They were 1. Lawyers;—2. Foreign-cloth merchants;—3. Money-changers;—4. Drapers;—5. Physicians and Apothecaries;—6. Mercers;—7. Skinners. The lesser arts were; Retail clothes-dealers;—Butchers; —Shoemakers;—Builders;—Smiths; and other inferior tradesmen. Villani, Lib. VII. c. 13.—Machiavelli, Opere, tom. I. p. 64. 4to. Firenze, 1782.—The lesser arts, according to Villani, were not incorporated until 1282.

again changed the form of government. A general council was instituted, consisting of three orders. At the head were twelve magistrates chosen for two months, and called Buonomini;—2. a body of eighty citizens composed the Credenza; and 3. from the six divisions, one hundred and eighty representatives were elected. Another council, including the officers of state, was erected, to approve and effectuate the decrees of the former.

The Buonomini.

Such continued the government of Florence, until Nicholas III. deprived Charles of his supremacy in Lombardy. A slight alteration was then made in favour of the Ghibellins, who were recalled; the Buonomini being increased to fourteen, eight Guelph and six Ghibellin.[40] But the election of Martin IV. restored the influence of Charles and the Guelphs, and the government of Florence underwent another alteration. Instead of the Buonomini, six citizens, called PRIORS OF THE ARTS,[41] were chosen for two months, one from each of the six quarters of the city; and this College of the Arts, together with the Captain of the People, constituted the Signory;—a form of government which lasted with little variation until the middle of the fourteenth century. The Florentines now proceeded with the internal beautifying of their city, which they surrounded with new walls; and a

The Ghibellins recalled. 1279.

The Priors. 1282.

[40] Giov. Villani, Lib. VII. c. 56.

[41] The number of the Priors appears to have been continually varied;—at first there were only three; in two months they were increased to six; and afterwards to twelve. To these Priors were attached six serjeants and six messengers.

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palace was built for the magistrates, who had hitherto carried on their functions in the churches.[42]

The new constitution of Florence had virtually the effect of excluding the noblest families from any share in the government. The Arts or civic companies were composed of those citizens, who either busied themselves in trade; or found it convenient to enrol their names among the commercial members. Thus arose an order of *popular* nobles in Florence, composed of wealthy and considerable men, who did not disdain to incorporate themselves with their mechanical fellow-citizens. But the high and ancient nobility maintained by violence and corruption a mischievous influence in the city; the populace were maltreated; frequent turmoils affrighted the streets; and blood was often shed; whilst the nobles, rallying their families and dependents, either mastered their opponents by force, or overawed the ministers of justice. The Priors therefore instituted a new officer, called the "*Gonfaloniere della Giustizia*," to be chosen every two months from the popular party; to whom the administration of justice was committed; and whose power was to be enforced by a large body of armed men collected under his banner. At the same time a law was passed, by which the nobles were declared incapable of being admitted into the Arts;[43] the

The Gonfalonier of Justice. 1292.

[42] Machiavelli, Lib. II.—Giov. Villani, Lib. VII. c. 13. 16. 70.

[43] The severity of this exclusion was afterwards modified; and several of the ancient nobility were allowed to degrade themselves to the popular ranks; and thus became eligible to offices in the state. These exclusive laws were strangely denominated, Ordinances of Justice.

severity of the laws respecting the nobility was redoubled; and the Gonfalonier's authority was further established by his being admitted to the College of the Priors, of which he ultimately became the head. These measures had been mainly brought about by Giano della Bella, a man of good popular family; and the nobles, who saw in him the chief cause of their exclusion, were eagerly bent upon his ruin. An opportunity soon occurred. A conflict took place in the streets in which a citizen was killed, and Corso Donati, an illustrious noble, was accused before the Podestà of the murder. In default of sufficient proof the accused was acquitted by that magistrate; which so incensed the people, that they broke out into open violence; and repairing tumultuously to the house of Giano, besought him to give them justice. Giano, unwilling to encourage the ferment, advised them to have recourse to the Priors: but such rational counsel was far from accordant with their excited feelings; and they furiously besieged the Podestà's palace, which they forced open and plundered. This outrage furnished matter for the nobles against Giano: he was accused of having promoted disaffection and riot; and a strong party was formed against him among the *popular* nobility, many of whom were jealous of his influence in the state. The lower classes, however, still continued firm to their protector, and offered to take up arms for his defence. But Giano, unwilling to plunge the city into civil

The nobles excluded from the government. 1293.

Giano della Bella.

1294.

Corso Donati.

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warfare, retired into voluntary exile, and ended his days in France.[44]

1295. The retirement of Giano was followed by a new commotion; and after a short interval of peace which for awhile blessed Florence there arose another schism, that threw the city into still greater distraction. At the moment when the disputes between the Bianchi and Neri broke out in Pistoia, two noble families of Florence, the Cerchi and Donati, nourished a secret rancour, which as yet had produced no open violence. But the opposite parties of Pistoia having recourse to Florence, the Cerchi declared for the Whites, and Corso Donati and his family supported the Black faction. The struggling flame soon burst forth and seized upon the whole city. The quarrel between the nobles and the people seemed forgotten in the new strife; and the Florentines divided themselves, and took part with the Cerchi and Donati; the former being joined by many popular families and almost all the Ghibellins in Florence. Apprehensive of the consequences, the Guelphs appealed to the Pope, who despatched his legate to Florence, but with no effect; and after laying an interdict upon the city, the baffled priest returned to Rome. The poet Dante was now one of the Priors: by his advice the Signory interposed to obtain tranquillity. The people were alarmed by the report of a conspiracy by the Donati to destroy their liberties, and

Bianchi and Neri. 1300.

The Cerchi and Donati.

[44] Giov. Villani, Lib. VIII. c. 1-8.—Machiavelli, Lib. II.

readily joined the side of the government. The Blacks thus overpowered were sent into banishment; and to mark the impartiality of the proceeding, Guido Cavalcanti and many of the Whites were for a short time compelled to leave the city.[45]

The *Neri* banished. 1301.

At this period, Charles de Valois, brother of Philip IV. of France, arrived at Rome. His avowed object was to assist Pope Boniface VIII. to drive the Spaniards from Sicily; but the Pontiff first availed himself of the French force to settle the disorders of Florence; and the disinclination of the Whites to receive his delegate was probably the cause of the Pope's enmity towards them. The arrival of Charles only served to increase the confusion. The Donati and the Blacks were permitted to re-enter the city; and Veri Cerco, the head of the Whites, precipitately quitted Florence. Thus discountenanced by Charles, the Whites were soon depressed; a rigorous proceeding was had against the most conspicuous; who, together with Dante, were driven into perpetual exile.[46] Charles de Valois, having thus contributed to the ruin of the Bianchi, departed for Sicily. But the restless spirit of Corso Donati still troubled the repose of Florence; until both nobles and people, weary of this perpetual excitement, denounced Corso as a rebel; and after a desperate resistance he was compelled to quit the city. Many lives were sacrificed upon this occasion; and Corso, being pur-

Charles de Valois in Florence.

The Neri restored.

The Bianchi banished. 1302.

1304.

Death of Corso Donati. 1308.

[45] Giov. Villani, Lib. VIII. c. 39–41.—Murat. ann. 1301.—Machiavelli.

[46] Giov. Villani, Lib. VIII. c. 49. IX. c. 136.

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sued by the forces of the government, was taken and slain by a Catalan soldier.

Notwithstanding these perpetual changes and discords, Florence rapidly rose to be the first city of Tuscany. Her territory was continually increasing, and the other Tuscan states were compelled to acknowledge her superiority. Her streets were adorned with magnificent palaces, whose strong and massive walls indicated the necessity of guarding against surprise or insurrection. Commerce and trade were the sure sources of wealth and civic honours; the mechanical arts found certain encouragement; and the more elegant and intellectual accomplishments were not neglected.[47] Cimabue and his pupil Giotto had already founded the Florentine school of painting; while Guido Cavalcanti, Brunetto, and Dante, diligently cultivated philosophy, rhetoric, and poetry. Perhaps before his banishment the stupendous genius of Dante had entered upon that extraordinary work, "La Divina Commedia;" which, with all its extravagancies and defects, places its author in the first rank of modern poets.

IV. Estates of the Church.

IV. The States of the Church consisted of the ancient dutchies of Rome and Spoleto; the Marches of Ancona and Fermo; and the country northward as far as the Po, secured by the grant of Rodolph, and afterwards called Romagna. The cities of this

[47] The prosperity of Florence at the beginning of the fourteenth century may be best understood by reading the 91st, 92d, 93d, and 94th chapters of the eleventh book of Giovanni Villani.

territory were also afflicted with the Guelph and Ghibellin schism. While Perugia and Foligno adhered to the Ghibellins, Spoleto was subjected to the Guelphs, who were for a time compelled to retire before the arms of Foligno.[48]

Perugia. Foligno. Spoleto.

Ferrara, though acknowledging the supremacy of the Pope, accepted,[49] as we have seen, the family of Este as her rulers under the holy see. Azzo VII. was succeeded in the government by his grandson Obizzo II.; and the descendants of Obizzo continued to rule, though not without interruption. His son Azzo VIII. bequeathed the government to Folco, the legitimate son of his bastard Fresco, in exclusion of his brothers, Aldovrandino II. and Francesco. The claims of the brothers were favoured by the people, and the Pope was appealed to as the ultimate lord on behalf of the lawful heirs. Venice availing herself of this dissension for a moment seized upon Ferrara; but the invaders were repulsed with great loss, and punished by the papal interdict. Regardless, however, of the claims of the Estensi, Clement V. delivered over the city to Robert, King of Naples, whom he constituted his vicar of Romagna and Ferrara.[50]

Ferrara. The Estensi. 1308.

Bologna, governed by a Podestà and consuls, who were assisted by a general council of the citizens,[51] had long been the zealous partisan of the Church. Her celebrated university gave her great consideration; the study of the Roman law was in no other city cultivated with such assiduity; and in

Bologna.

[48] Giov. Villani. Lib. IX. c. 6.
[49] Ante, p. 302.
[5] Murat. ad ann.
[51] Sismondi, tom. II. p. 240.

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cases of doubt or difficulty, her Doctors were universally appealed to. But jealousy had grown up between the nobles and the commons; and the pernicious schism of Guelphs and Ghibellins divided the city. At the head of the former was the family of Gieremei; at the head of the Ghibellins, the Lambertazzi. In 1273 the hatred of these noble houses broke out into open violence. A daughter of the Lambertazzi had conceived a violent passion for Bonifazio de' Gieremei, and the lover was stabbed to the heart by her indignant brothers. The streets of Bologna were for forty days filled with strife and slaughter; and the contest terminated by
1274. the expulsion of the Lambertazzi and the Ghibellins; who sought refuge in Forli, Faenza, and other towns of Romagna.[52] An attack upon these towns by the Bolognese in 1275 incurred a severe defeat by the Ghibellin troops, commanded by Malatesta of Rimini, and Guido, Count of Montefeltro. At length by the intervention of Cardinal Latino, the papal legate, and of Bertoldo Orsino, brother of Nicholas III. and Count of Romagna, these feuds were suspended: the exiles were recalled to Bo-
1279. logna; and amidst great rejoicings the citizens pledged themselves by oath to preserve perpetual peace.[53] But oaths were slender bonds to confine deep-rooted hatred; little time elapsed ere the Lambertazzi were again expelled; and Forli once more opened her gates to the banished Ghibellins.

[52] Giov. Villani, Lib. VII. c. 44.—Sismondi, tom. III. p. 427.

[53] Sismondi, tom. III. p. 448. 453.

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In 1275 Ravenna chose for her Lord, Guido Novello da Polenta; in whose family the signory long continued. Imola, overwhelmed by Bologna in 1222, was compelled to raze her walls, and to receive a Bolognese Podestà.[54] From her slavery to Bologna she was rescued in 1296 by Maghinardo da Susinana, the Ghibellin lord of a strong castle in Romagna; who drove out the Bolognese from Imola, and made himself master of the city.[55] Faenza, the seat of the Ghibellins and the refuge of the Lambertazzi, had been betrayed to the Bolognese by the treacherous Tibaldello Zambrasi, who in the dead of night opened the gates to the Guelph army.[56] Forli, on the other hand after submitting in 1283, to John d' Appia, the papal Count of Romagna,[57] became the prey of Maghinardo in 1291.[58] Rimini placed herself, under the Ghibellin Malatesta; and Pesaro and Fano rejected the papal authority.[59] Thus then, notwithstanding the cession of Rodolph, much of Romagna still remained to be reduced to the Pope: whilst, in the ancient Dutchies, the Ghibellin faction were ready to dispute his power. The Marches of Ancona and Fermo, which had been wrested from the Germans by Innocent III., continued their obedience to the holy see.

Ravenna.
Imola.
Faenza.
1282.
Forli.
Rimini.
1290.
Pesaro.
Fano.
Ancona.
Fermo.

V. Though the Sicilian kingdom had been deprived of the island and an independent dynasty

V. The kingdom of Sicily citrà Pharum. (Naples.)

[54] Sismondi, tom. II. p. 434. [55] Giov. Villani, Lib. VIII. c. 16.
[56] Sismondi, tom. III. p. 453.—See Dante, Inferno, cant. XXXII. v. 122.
[57] Giov. Villani, Lib. VII. c. 82. [58] Ibid. c. 149.
[59] Giov. Villani, Lib. XI. c. 19.

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there established, Charles I. and his immediate successors retained the title of King of Sicily;[60] and his son Charles II. in a treaty with Frederic, King of the island, stipulated that he should style himself King of *Trinacria*. Charles II. died in 1309,[61] and was succeeded in the Neapolitan throne by his second son Robert, in exclusion of Charobert, King of Hungary, who, as son of Charles-Martel, was next in lineal succession. But Robert, founding his claim upon the will of his father, and recommended by his military reputation, was the favourite competitor with the Neapolitans; and his title being recognized and confirmed by Clement V. he was crowned King of *Sicily* at Avignon. Robert immediately returned to Italy, where he assiduously allied himself with the Guelph cities; and his appointment as papal vicar of Romagna aided his aspiring views, which were evidently directed to the subjugation of all Italy.[62]

Charles II. 1285-1309.

Robert. 1309-1343.

The ambitious hopes of Robert were alarmed by the expected journey of Henry VII. into Italy. He was too keen an observer of passing events to limit the designs of the German monarch to an

[60] To prevent confusion, I have called Charles II. and his successors Kings of *Naples*, after the example of Muratori and Sismondi. Some writers indeed assert that, after the Sicilian Vespers, Charles I. styled himself King of Naples. See Giannone, Lib. XX. c. 6. tom. VI. p. 322.

[61] Charles II. inherited the counties of Maine and Anjou from his father; and these were made over to Charles de Valois in 1288. He was also hereditary Count of Provence. By Maria, daughter of Stephen IV. King of Hungary, he had nine sons and five daughters. (Gian. Lib. XXI. c. 6.) See Appendix, Table XXII.

[62] Murat. Ann. 1309. 1310.—Gian. Lib. XXII. c. 1.

empty ceremony. Though Florence was essentially attached to the Church, yet many of the Florentine Ghibellins were in strict intercourse with Henry; and the disturbed state of Milan, that most important of the Lombard cities, offered great encouragement for the invasion of Italy. Henry, having obtained the Pope's approbation of his design, appeared with a numerous force at Turin in October 1310; and being favourably received by Amadeus V. Count of Savoy, by Theodore[63] Marquis of Montferrat, and by many other nobles, proceeded to Asti; where he re-established the Ghibellins, who had been driven out of that city.[64]

Henry VII. enters Italy. 1310.

Thus encouraged, and accompanied by the exiled Matteo Visconte, Henry advanced to Milan, where his reception was equally cordial. The nobles crowded to throw themselves at his feet, and even Guido dalla Torre offered him a sullen submission. The exiled Ghibellins were restored to the city, and Henry and his Queen received the crown of Italy from the Archbishop, in the church of St. Ambrose. But the Lombards soon began to feel how justly their ancestors had dreaded the arrival of a foreign master: they beheld with alarm the institution of imperial vicars in several cities; and Milan was filled with murmurs by a heavy and op-

He is crowned at Milan. 1311.

[63] Upon the death of John, Marquis of Montferrat, in 1305, without issue, his estates devolved to his sister Violante, married to the Greek Emperor Andronicus II., and their son Theodore took the title of Marquis.—According to Muratori he was *their second* son. But see Gibbon, c. LXIII. note 6. where he is said to have been the *son* of Andronicus *by a second marriage* (i. e. with Violante).

[64] Murat. Ann. 1310.

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pressive *gratuity* which Henry exacted from the citizens. The royal suspicions were awakened by some mysterious conferences of the Torriani and Visconti; both parties fell under the King's displeasure; and the former were subjected to the pains of a real or pretended conspiracy. Lodi, Cremona, and Brescia were the first to break into open defiance; but Lodi was quickly compelled to submit; the tardy compliance of Cremona was punished by the imprisonment of many of her citizens, the abolition of her privileges, and the destruction of her ramparts; and Brescia was once more exposed to the miseries of an imperial siege. The Brescians displayed their accustomed gallantry: during four months their resistance was vigorous and effective; and Walram, the brother of Henry, was killed in a sally of the citizens. Stung with this disaster, the King ungenerously turned his vengeance upon his prisoners: Tebaldo Brusciati, the governor, was torn in pieces by horses; and others suffered death as rebels. At length the plague commenced its ravages within and without the city; and the failure of provisions compelled the besieged to surrender to Henry, who imposed upon them a heavy tax and commanded the dismantlement of their walls.[65] Leaving Brescia, the conqueror passed through Placentia and Pavia, and arrived at Genoa. The Genoese gladly received him, and conferred upon him the signory of the city. But his satisfaction was allayed by the

[65] Giov. Villani, Lib. IX. c. 15. 20.—Schmidt, vol. III. p. 486.

premature death of his consort, Margaret; and the avowed hostility of Florence, Lucca, Siena, and Perugia, which had all declared for Robert. Pisa and Arezzo, however, still maintained their Ghibellin tenets, and conciliated Henry with offerings of duty and submission.

The departure of Henry out of Lombardy was immediately followed by the revolt of several cities; and in Romagna many of the Ghibellin states submitted to the lieutenant of Robert.[66] On the other hand, Alboino and Cane dalla Scala,[67] who had availed themselves of the royal necessities to purchase the imperial vicariate of Verona, succeeded in reducing Vicenza to the Ghibellin cause, and laid a heavy contribution on Padua. Henry also received an embassy from Venice, whose delegates were strictly charged to offer him their *friendship*, but not their submission. After residing two months in Genoa, he embarked for Porto Pisano, and was received in Pisa with the most extravagant joy. The friendly overtures of Frederic, King of Sicily, gave him, at this juncture, no small gratification; and a marriage was negotiated between Peter, son of Frederic, and one of Henry's daughters.

From Pisa, the King of Germany prepared to visit Rome, where the flames of discord were raging with more than wonted fury. All the rancour of the Guelphs and Ghibellins, all the animosity of

[66] Giov. Villani, Lib. IX. c. 18.

[67] The death of Alboino immediately afterwards left his brother in sole possession. Murat. Ann. 1311.

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the Orsini and Colonna, were enlisted in the cause of Robert on the one hand, and of Henry on the other. John, the brother of Robert, had obtained possession of the Vatican and the Leonine city; whilst the Colonna retained the Lateran, the Coliseum, and other places of importance. The Germans forced their passage over the Ponte Molle into Rome; but finding it impossible to dislodge the Neapolitan troops from about St. Peter's,

Henry VII. crowned Emperor in Rome. 29th June, 1312.

Henry submitted to be crowned in the Basilica of the Lateran, where the ceremony was performed by three cardinals appointed by the Pope to officiate in his absence. As the state of the city offered the new Emperor but slight inducement to remain there, he was easily prevailed upon by the Tuscan Ghibellins to remove his army to Arezzo. After investing Florence, with but little chance of her surrender, though the surrounding country was dismally wasted by the fierce depredations of the Germans, Henry retreated to San Casciano. Meanwhile the most cruel excesses of rebellion and slaughter were enacted in Lombardy. Scarce a city but was shattered by the great convulsion; and the unhappy Italians had reason to curse the moment which inflicted upon them a foreign ruler.

War with Robert, King of Naples. 1313.

Against Robert, who had taken so active a part in opposing the imperial authority, the wrath of Henry was directed in all its available force. Assuming the universal dominion of the Emperor over Italy, and the consequent vassalage of the King of Naples, he thundered forth the ban of the Empire,

and declared Robert to have incurred the penalties of treason. In order to give additional force to his fulminations, he applied to Clement V. to excommunicate those rebels to the Empire and the Church, who had endeavoured to frustrate his coronation, already sanctioned by the Pope himself. But Clement was now an inhabitant of Provence, the territory of Robert; Philip IV., the kinsman of that monarch, was too tremendous a foe to be provoked; and the sufferings and death of Boniface VIII. were too recent to be forgotten. The Pope, therefore, expressed his displeasure at the Emperor's proceedings, refusing to recognize his coronation; and peremptorily commanded him to become reconciled to the King of Naples.[68] Henry, however, was strong in his own resources, and in the alliance of Sicily, Genoa, and Pisa. His strength alarmed the Florentines, who now elected Robert their Lord for five years. But the Emperor resolved to strike at once at the head of his enemies. Hostilities were actively commenced against Robert by sea and land: the King of Sicily invaded Calabria and took Reggio; whilst Henry with an army of four thousand horse and a vast multitude of foot moved from Pisa, and his son John with a considerable German force was about to cross the Alps. At this critical moment, the soul which animated the vast enterprise was summoned to another world: a slight illness soon

[68] Struvius, p. 566.—Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 472.—To this Dante alludes;

Pria che 'l Guasco l'alto Arrigo inganni.

Parad. cant. XVII. v. 82.

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Death of Henry VII. 24th Aug. 1313.

assumed the deadliest symptoms; and at the little village of Buonconvento near Siena Henry VII. breathed his last. His death was for a time imputed to poison administered by a friar in the consecrated water: but there seems little ground for the imputation; and it forms one of those reiterated charges of poison common to the times, for which no foundation existed except sudden or unexpected death. The virtues of this Emperor are highly extolled by the Ghibellin writers;[69] nor are they denied by the Guelphs. The wisdom, however, of his proceedings in Italy may be reasonably called in question; and if his presence were necessary to reform abuses and suppress disaffection, a more conciliatory course of measures might have better suited the times, and rescued the ill-fated land from the extreme miseries of distraction. Nothing could be more impolitic than his institution of the imperial vicars, who at once hardened the disaffected, and depressed the faithful; and the examples of the Frederics might have taught their successor, that civil war and mutual destruction were more tolerable to the Italians than the yoke of Germany.

The death of the Emperor struck the most dismal grief into the hearts of the Ghibellins, but more especially affected Pisa. Full of hope that her pre-eminence in Tuscany was about to be re-

[69] Dante, who had loudly bewailed the loss of the imperial authority in Italy, and as loudly called upon Albert to take the crown of Charlemagne, (Purg. cant. VI. v. 91. 96.) prepares a glorious place for Henry in Paradise. Cant. XXX. v. 136.

established, that state had drained her last resources in subsidies to Henry; and suddenly awoke from the dream of exultation to the reality of her fallen fortunes. Nor was the situation of Frederic, King of Sicily, more consoling. In Robert he had roused a mortal enemy; in Henry he had lost his main reliance; and he led back his forces to Sicily, to await the storm which his precipitation had drawn down upon his head.[70]

To Robert, the death of his august adversary appeared to leave the sovereignty of Italy undisputed. At the instance of Philip of France, the Pope undertook to remove the anathemas of the late Emperor from the King of Naples; and as Clement did not hesitate to claim the imperial authority during the vacancy, he constituted Robert vicar of Italy. Robert had now arrived at the height of his power: by hereditary right, he was possessed of Provence and the kingdom of Naples; by the Pope's nomination, he was vicar of Romagna; by the choice of the Romans, he was senator of Rome; Florence had received him as her Lord; Lucca claimed his protection; whilst Parma, Pavia, Alessandria, Bergamo, and great part of Piedmont, acknowledged his authority. Yet at this moment when fortune seemed most propitious, the fair prospect became overcast: the death of Clement was speedily followed by that of Philip; and the Ghibellins, though without a sove-

Death of Clement V.; 1314.

[70] Giov. Villani, Lib. IX. c. 43. 48. 52. 53.—Giannone, Lib. XXII. c. 1.—Machiav. Lib. II.

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And of Philip IV.

reign leader, possessed commanders powerful and active. The Visconti had restored themselves to the favour of the late Emperor by their exertions in the wars: Matteo was appointed imperial vicar of Milan; and his son Galeazzo, vicar of Placentia. Cane dalla Scala[71] was the formidable ruler of Verona and Vicenza; Uguccione da Faggiuola, the Lord of Pisa, subdued and plundered Lucca,[72] and threatened Florence and Pistoia; the failure of an expedition against Sicily induced Robert to grant to Frederic a truce for three years: and in Lombardy, Pavia, Alessandria, and Bergamo, were reduced by the Ghibellins. In Tuscany, the Guelphs sustained a severe misfortune. In order to divert Uguccione from Montecatino, which he was obstinately besieging, Robert sent into the field his two brothers, Filippo, Prince of Tarento, and Pietro, Count of Gravina; and Uguccione, with a very inferior force,

1315. was compelled to give battle in the valley of Nievole. The superior skill of the Ghibellin leader prevailed over the larger army; the Guelphs were defeated with immense slaughter; and Pietro, and Carlo, son of Filippo, were amongst those who perished.

[71] The friend of Dante;

Il Veltro, &c.—Inferno, cant. I. v. 101.

Boccaccio calls him, Uno de' più notabili e de' più magnifici Signori che si sapesse in Italia.—Decam. Giorn. I. Nov. 7.

[72] At this time Lucca appears to have enjoyed a monopoly in the manufacture of silk; and the sack of the city by Uguccione dispersed the manufacturers to Venice, Florence, Milan, Bologna, and even into Germany, France, and Britain. See Muratori, Antiq. Ital. Dissert. XXV. Adam Smith attributes their banishment to "the tyranny of one of Machiavel's heroes, Castruccio Castracani, in 1310."—Book III. c. 3.

The severest loss of Uguccione was his son Francesco. But his victory was complete; Montecatino immediately surrendered; and his other son Neri was created Lord of Lucca. The victorious commander returned to Pisa to experience the ingratitude of his countrymen: his severe rule had raised a strong faction against him; an insurrection was excited, his palace was attacked, and himself forced from the city. On the news of his fall, Lucca immediately rebelled from Neri; Castruccio Castracani degl' Interminelli was snatched from a dungeon, and proclaimed Lord for a year; whilst Uguccione was driven from the city, and compelled to seek refuge in Verona.[73]

Amidst this mass of crime and misery, this inextricable complication of tumult and revolution, we may in vain endeavour to discern any principle of government or political wisdom. The most uncompromising selfishness predominated in every bosom; the strong hastened to overwhelm the weak; and the weak, instead of combining for their mutual protection, fell recklessly upon one another. The wild and deafening cry of "liberty" was the signal for revolt and bloodshed;—of revolt, from one tyrant to become the prey of another; of bloodshed, which stained the honour of the noble, or ministered to the ferocity of the vulgar. Yet the grinding despotism of Venice, the revolutionary turbulence of Genoa, the ceaseless love of change and eager adoption of quarrel in Florence, have

[73] Murat. Ann.—Giov. Villani, Lib. IX. c. 41. 51. 52. 58. &c.

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been strangely mistaken for freedom; and these far-famed Republics have been continually held up as models for the imitation of posterity. But a calm dispassionate view cast upon the turbulent sea of Italian history will shew us nothing to gladden, and every thing to avoid; we shall find no port of safety, no haven of repose; but discover, amidst the raging billows, the most dangerous rocks, the most precipitous currents, and the most treacherous quicksands. Throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries we vainly search the Italian annals for religion, morality, or public security; and even those who can lay claim to the fairest reputation are too often sullied with hideous spots. From this melancholy conviction we can scarcely pass to the succeeding ages with any sanguine hope of amendment: and though we shall observe with satisfaction the progress of civilization and learning, we shall be perpetually reminded how inadequate are these alone to secure the moral improvement, and consequent happiness of mankind.

CHAPTER XIX.

REIGN OF LEWIS V.

THE unexpected death of Henry VII. again awakened the ambition of the House of Austria. Albert, King of the Romans, left five sons surviving, Frederic, Leopold, Albert, Henry, and Otho.[1] The talents and reputation of Frederic, surnamed the Handsome, made him a worthy aspirer to the crown; and his brothers zealously exerted themselves in a cause so important to the dignity of the family. But, besides the opposition which Frederic might reasonably expect from the friends of the house of Luxemburg, another serious difficulty presented itself. During the thirteenth century, a custom had grown up in Germany of dividing the electorates between the sons of the last possessor, without respect to priority of birth; and where several individuals possessed a portion of the principality, each claimed a voice in the imperial election, in virtue of his particular share.[2] It could

[1] See Appendix, Table XXIV.

[2] Schmidt, vol. III. p. 160. 496. Sometimes all the brothers reigned *jointly* over the whole; as the dukes of Austria in the beginning of the fourteenth century.—"From such partitions (says Mr. Hallam, *Middle Ages*, vol. II. p. 117.) are derived those numerous independent principalities of the same house, many of which still subsist in Germany. In 1589 there were eight

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rarely happen that unanimity prevailed amongst the several heirs; and now, although the number of votes were limited to seven, not one of the secular suffrages was undisputed or undivided. Bohemia was contested by the ex-King Henry, and by John the reigning monarch; the vote of Saxony, was claimed both by Rodolph the Duke, and his cousin John, Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg; the vote of Bavaria was disputed between Rodolph the Count Palatine, and his brother and bitter enemy Duke Lewis; whilst Brandenburg was divided between the Margrave Waldemar and his uncle, Henry of Landsberg.[3]

Divided state of Votes and Electors. 1314.

Amidst these jarring interests, Frederic could hope for nothing like an unanimous election, more particularly as he soon found John, King of Bohemia, strenuously opposed to his pretensions. That prince, ever jealous of the increasing power of the House of Austria, easily persuaded his uncle Baldwin of Luxemburg, the Elector of Treves, to take part against Frederic; and Peter, Elector of Mentz, readily lent himself to the views of King John. On the other hand, Frederic's overtures were favourably received by the Elector of Cologne, by Henry of Bohemia, by Rodolph of Saxony, and by Rodolph of Bavaria. Even Lewis of Bavaria consented for once to accord with his brother; and as no other

reigning princes of the Palatine family; and fourteen, in 1675, of that of Saxony."

[3] Coxe's House of Austria, vol. I. p. 128, who is, however, mistaken in calling Henry, *brother* of Waldemar.

candidate appeared in the field the Duke of Austria seemed secure of the crown. The intrigues of the King of Bohemia, however, at once detached an adherent and raised up a competitor; the Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg and the Margraves of Brandenburg were induced to oppose the Austrian interest; and thus in possession of three undisputed, and two contested, votes, John made an offer of the crown to Lewis of Bavaria, whose engagements to Frederic melted away before the splendour of the imperial diadem.

More than a year was suffered to elapse after the throne became vacant before either party ventured to proceed to an election. At length, on the 19th of October 1314, the Austrian partizans met at Saxen-hausen, where Frederic was elected King of the Romans by the votes of Henry, Archbishop of Cologne, Rodolph, Count Palatine, Rodolph, Duke of Saxony, and Henry of Bohemia. On the following day, Lewis was elected at Frankfort by the Archbishops of Mentz and Treves, John, King of Bohemia, John, Duke of Saxe-Lunenburg, and Waldemar, Margrave of Brandenburg; and he was immediately afterwards crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle by the elector of Mentz.[4]

Election of Frederic of Austria;

And of Lewis of Bavaria.

The validity of Lewis's election appears to have been recognized by the greater portion of the German states. Allowing the votes of Bohemia, Saxony, and Bavaria to be neutralized, he was in possession of the undisputed suffrages of Mentz,

[4] Struvius, p. 578. 580.

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Treves, and Brandenburg; whilst Frederic could only boast of the integral suffrage of Cologne. But enough had been done in his favour to encourage his persisting in his claim, and in his brother Leopold he possessed a supporter whose military skill and indomitable spirit promised him the most advantageous results. Nothing could be more opposite than the external appearance of these illustrious brothers. Frederic was handsome and graceful: Leopold diminutive, deformed, and repulsive. But both were akin in spirit as in blood; though the mildness of Frederic was strongly contrasted to the impetuosity and rashness of Leopold. The Dukes of Austria took the field with a formidable force, and Lewis was invaded in his Bavarian territories. But the invaders were soon compelled to retreat; and Lewis avenged himself upon his brother Rodolph, whom he stripped of his estates, and drove into Austria.[5]

War between the Kings. 1315.

It was fortunate for Lewis that the deep resentment of Leopold was intent upon the overthrow of another object. The long and effectual opposition of the Swiss to his family, and the eagerness with which they submitted to Lewis, hurried on the fiery Leopold to attempt their immediate subjugation; and for a moment his brother's cause was forgotten in the loud denunciations of vengeance which he poured out against those stubborn mountaineers. Resolved at once to extinguish their

Leopold attacks the Swiss.

[5] Where he died in 1319. Art de vérif. tom. III. p. 323. Lewis restored the estates of Rodolph to his sons in 1328. Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 493.

rebellious spirit, he advanced through Soleure to Baden, where he summoned to his assistance the ancient nobility of Hapsburg, Lenzburg, and Kyburg. Many of the nobles and burgers of Zurich also joined his standard, and his force was further augmented by the numerous retainers of the Abbot of Einsidlen. At the head of this army he advanced to Zug, whilst Otho, Count of Strasburg, with four thousand men, marched through the Oberland upon Unterwalden; and a body of a thousand men were assembled at Lucerne, ready to cross the lake, and on that side to attack the devoted Canton.

Secure in the integrity of their cause, the Swiss calmly mustered their little forces. Four hundred men from Uri, and three hundred from Unterwalden, marched to Schweitz, and with the addition of seven hundred Schweitzers their force amounted to fourteen hundred. At this crisis fifty exiles of Schweitz entreated to be permitted to reenter their beloved country, and share in her defence against the impending danger; yet, important as this addition must have appeared to their little numbers, the magistrates sternly refused to accede to the petition; and the exiles, though denied the satisfaction of joining their countrymen, resolved to aid the general cause. They, therefore, posted themselves upon the heights of Morgarten, which abutted on the frontiers of the Canton.

When the advance of Frederic upon Unterwalden was made known to the Swiss, they concluded that

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his route would be through the pass between Mount Sattel and Lake Egeri. On that mountain, therefore, the fourteen-hundred took up their station; and at dawn of day on the fifteenth of November they beheld the Austrian host advancing through the entrance of the pass in all the pomp of an undoubted conquest. The cavalry completely armed from head to foot preceded the infantry; and the long line of the Austrian armament soon filled the narrow plain between the lake and the heights of Morgarten. At this moment the fifty exiles burst into a tremendous shout, and poured upon the invaders a mighty torrent of fragments of rocks and timber. Availing themselves of the confusion the fourteen-hundred rushed down from Mount Sattel, and fell with desperate energy upon the Austrians, who staggered beneath the repeated blows from their heavy clubs and halberds. The utmost confusion immediately pervaded the army: the spot was every way unfavourable to the recovery of order: the earth covered with hoar-frost betrayed their footing; horse rolled on horse; many were driven into the lake; and those who essayed to retreat dashed in amongst the advancing infantry. The Austrians thus overwhelmed by their own numbers forgot all discipline, and were only intent on self-preservation. In this memorable rout no less than fifteen hundred nobles and knights perished; and Leopold himself narrowly escaped death, and fled in consternation to Winterthur.

Rout of Morgarten.

But even this miraculous victory had not com-

pletely rescued the Swiss from their dangers. The Count of Strasburg, unaware of the defeat of Leopold, descended from Mount Brunig into the plain of Unterwalden, whilst the Lucerne force crossed the lake and commenced a landing near Burgen. In the midst of their rejoicings the conquerors of Morgarten learnt this double invasion; and the three hundred Unterwaldens, accompanied by an hundred Schweitzers, hastened to the relief of their fellow-countrymen. The people of Unterwalden were fortunately able to resist the invaders until they were joined by the four-hundred; who elate with victory rushed forward upon the Lucerne force with loud and triumphant shoutings. The enemy was quickly put to flight: many perished in the lake in the vain attempt to regain their boats; and the conquerors proceeded to Kerns, where the Count of Strasburg was still kept at bay by the valour and firmness of the Unterwalders. The triumphant approach of these new auxiliaries soon convinced the Count that some calamity had overtaken Leopold; and dismayed at his situation he commenced a precipitate retreat, and fled over the mountains towards Lucerne.

The three Cantons now addressed a solemn thanksgiving to the God of Hosts, "who had visited his people, and given them the victory over their enemies." The memorable 15th of November was ordained to be a perpetual festival, wherein the name of those heroes who fell upon that day were annually to be recited to the people. The League,

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The Swiss League made permanent.

which had hitherto been renewable every ten years, was declared permanent; and in requital of their patriotic exertions the fifty exiled Schweitzers were restored to their grateful country.[6]

The triumph of the Swiss, so humiliating to the House of Austria, was in every way agreeable to Lewis, who immediately confirmed the liberties of the three Forest Cantons. Leopold, however, was still sufficiently powerful to assist his brother, and the contest for the German crown was kept on foot.

At the commencement of the struggle, the Holy See remained vacant, and each of the rival Kings appealed to the decision of a future Pope. On the death of Clement V. in 1314, the discordant Cardinals were unable to agree about a successor; and the Conclave at Carpentras having been fired by accident, or more probably by design, they thus obtained their liberty, and shewed no alacrity again to enter upon the election. After a vacancy of more than two years, the Cardinals once more assembled at Lyons; and Jacques d'Euse, a native of Cahors, was elected Pope. He was a man of mean extraction: but his acquirements had gradually obtained him high ecclesiastical rank and reputation. He assumed the name of John XXII.; was crowned at Lyons; and following the example of his predecessor fixed his Court at Avignon.[7]

John XXII. 1316-1334.

The new Pope availed himself of the contest for

[6] Planta, Helv. Conf. vol. I. p. 280.—Coxe, p. 133. These writers differ as to the day; I have, as usual, followed L'Art de vérifier les Dates, tom. III. c. 588.

[7] Mur. Ann. 1316.—Dupin, vol. XII. c. 3.

the German crown to assert the old maxim, that the Empire was subject to St. Peter; and accordingly cited the rival Kings to appear at Avignon, and abide his decision. But John was too much devoted to the House of Anjou, and too obsequious to the wishes of Robert, King of Naples, to be seriously anxious to accommodate the imperial Schism, which, by leaving Italy without an acknowledged master, opened the most favourable prospects to that ambitious monarch. In the beginning of the dispute, the Italian Ghibellins had declared for Lewis, while the Guelphs supported Frederic; and as the depression of the Ghibellins was the avowed object of Robert and John, the cause of Lewis was rather damaged than assisted by their adhesion. But the turbulent Italians were too much engaged in their own contentions to heed a foreign conflict; and the struggle between the rival Kings was soon forgotten. In the meantime, Pope John omitted no occasion to advance the cause of Robert. Ferrara, which had thrown off his yoke and recalled the family of Este, was visited with the papal censures; and a similar denunciation was launched at the Ghibellin Visconti, who still continued to govern Milan. The Ghibellins, however, did not tamely submit, and the devotion of Genoa to the cause of Robert subjected that Republic to a siege, or rather blockade, of five years; during which, according to the historian of the time, the countless woes of Troy were again enacted.[8] In order to strengthen the

His devotion to Robert, King of Naples.

John denounces the Ghibellins.

Siege of Genoa. 1318-1323.

[8] Giov. Villani, Lib. IX. c. 118.

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Philip de Valois in Italy. 1320.

Guelphs, the Pope now invited into Italy Philip, son of Charles de Valois, with the title of Lieutenant-General of the Holy See. The young prince soon appeared with a force at Asti; but the Visconti found means to damp his ardour and avert his enmity; and after gazing at the Ghibellin armament Philip returned to France, there to await the crown which subsequently descended on his head.[9]

Continued war between Lewis and Frederic.

Unable to settle their dispute by means of the Pope, Lewis and Frederic continued their protracted warfare. Once indeed the Pontiff appeared willing to favour Frederic, and invited him to enter Italy and assist in the ruin of the Ghibellins. Frederic, too much occupied in Germany himself to cross the Alps, despatched his brother Henry into Lombardy; but that prince duly appreciated the difficulties of the undertaking, and almost immediately withdrew from Italy.

Overtures of the Pope to Frederic. 1322. Henry of Austria in Italy.

The fortunes of Lewis were at length beginning to decline, when the vacancy of the Margraviate of Brandenburg[10] enabled him to purchase the aid of John, King of Bohemia; and, on the faith of a promise of the vacant Electorate, the army of Lewis was seasonably strengthened by a Bohemian force. Frederic at the head of the Austrians and auxiliary Hungarians now invaded Bavaria, whilst Leopold was busied in collecting additional forces in Hel-

[9] Colle mani piene solamente di mosche. Murat. Ann. 1320.—Père Daniel, tom. V. p. 242.—Giov. Villani, Lib. IX. c. 110.

[10] The Margrave Waldemar dying in 1319, his cousin Henry, son of Henry of Landsberg, became fully invested with the Margraviate of Brandenburg: but the young Margrave died in 1320 without issue; and the Electorate was admitted by the States to be *escheated* to the sovereign. Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 487.

vetia. Instead of awaiting the arrival of his brother, Frederic resolved to risk a battle, and accordingly drew up his troops ready for action near Muhldorf. A long and desperately contested engagement was determined by a stratagem. Lewis detached from his army a body of troops, whom he furnished with the ensigns of Austria, directing them to make their appearance from behind the hills in flank of the army of Frederic. Deceived by this contrivance, the exhausted Austrians too readily believed the new comers to be the power of Duke Leopold; and found to their confusion that they had now to contend with a fresh enemy in the rear. Disheartened and thrown into disorder they began to give way; and the rout soon became general: Henry brother of the Duke was taken prisoner, and Frederic himself immediately afterwards fell into the hands of his enemies.[11] In the vain confidence of victory, he had decked himself in a splendid suit of glittering armour, and a royal crown encircled his helmet. When led before his successful rival, the simple mail of Lewis rebuked the gorgeous array of the fallen Frederic. The victor received him with humanity and professions of friendship: but the soothing and compassionate expressions of a victorious rival were a poor compensation for the destruction of his army and the annihilation of his hopes of imperial dominion. Henry was consigned to the care of the King of Bohemia; and Frederic

Battle of Muhldorf.

Frederic made prisoner.

[11] Struvius, p. 584.

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was shut up by his new friend in the fortress of Trausnitz in the Palatinate.[12]

But this signal victory failed to produce the advantageous effects which Lewis might reasonably have expected. Though he held his rival captive, Leopold of Austria still remained in arms; and the Pope, dreading the ascendency of Lewis, exerted every means to rob him of the fruits of his conquest. John XXII. addressed himself to Charles IV. King of France, to whom he offered the imperial crown; he issued his behest commanding Lewis of Bavaria to abandon his claims to the Empire; and he gained over Leopold to support King Charles, with a view to the destruction of their common enemy.

Lewis excommunicated. 1324.

As Lewis declined acceding to the summons of the Pope, John thundered forth the sentence of excommunication against him, and absolved his subjects from their allegiance; whilst at a meeting between Leopold and Charles of France measures were concerted for perfecting the deposition of Lewis.

But not only were the Pope, the King of France, and the Duke of Austria in league for his destruction; he had now made an enemy of John, King of Bohemia, with whom he broke his faith by bestowing the promised Margraviate of Brandenburg upon his own son Lewis. Irritated by this disappointment, John resolved to turn the victory of Muhldorf to his own account. He stipulated with

[12] Coxe, p. 137.

Leopold for the ransom of his brother Henry, and consented to set him free for 9000 marks of silver, upon condition that the Austrian princes should renounce all pretension to the Bohemian crown. He united with the papal confederates for the downfall of Lewis; and the marriage of his sister with Charles IV. was an additional incitement for placing that King on the imperial throne.

Before, however, the day appointed for a new election arrived, the King of Bohemia had returned to the ranks of Lewis. The death of his sister, the Queen of France, dissolved the bond of union with Charles; and the investment of the province of Lusatia reconciled him to his former master. Leopold alone appeared at Bar-sur-Aube, where it had been settled the Electors should be invited to assemble; and Charles, finding little to encourage his hopes, at once relinquished all thoughts of becoming an Emperor.[13]

Attempt to elect Charles IV. of France, Emperor. 1325.

Meanwhile Lewis proceeded to Trausnitz, and offered terms of accommodation to his illustrious captive. Frederic was easily induced to enter into a treaty, by which he was to be restored to liberty. He consented to renounce his claims to the imperial throne; to restore all the lands belonging to the Empire; and to obtain his brother's assistance against the enemies of the King, whether priests or laymen, particularly against him who styled himself Pope: and upon these terms he was released from his prison.[14]

Treaty of Trausnitz.

Frederic set at liberty.

[13] Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 488.—P. Daniel, tom. V. p. 274.—Coxe, p. 140.

[14] Schmidt, Book VII. c. 5. vol. III. p. 525.

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This treaty was indignantly resented by both Leopold and the Pope. The former refused to lend himself to so inglorious a compromise; whilst the latter declared the whole transaction void as an extortion during captivity. The magnanimous Frederic, therefore, unable to complete his engagement, once more surrendered himself to Lewis; who, no less high-minded, from that moment treated him as his bosom friend. They ate at the same table; slept in the same bed;[15] and a new treaty less injurious to the pride of Austria was concluded at Munich. It was agreed that both Lewis and Frederic should retain the title of King of the Romans, with equal rights of sovereignty; that they should jointly confer the imperial fiefs, and alternately take precedence; and that two seals should be prepared, that of Lewis bearing the name of Frederic, that of Frederic the name of Lewis. But though Leopold expressed himself satisfied with this adjustment, the Pope continued inexorable; and the Electors exclaimed against the treaty of Munich as an infringement of their rights, and the creation of a sovereign without their voices. It was nevertheless settled that Lewis should repair to Italy, leaving Frederic in possession of the government of Germany; and that Leopold should accompany Lewis in the character of his Vicar General.[16] The death of that gallant warrior took place in the midst of this negociation; and probably saved Germany from the protracted horrours of a civil war. For, encouraged by the murmurs of

Treaty of Munich.

Death of Leopold, Duke of Austria. 1326.

[15] Schmidt, p. 526.

[16] Coxe, p. 144.

the States against this division of the Empire, the partizans of Austria still nourished high hopes of finally depressing Lewis, and establishing Frederic in sole possession of the throne. They even made overtures to Pope John XXII. to favour their design against the excommunicated Bavarian; but the Pope was too strictly engaged with the King of France to lend himself to another aspirant to the Empire. By the death of Leopold, that prop and pillar of his house, the Austrian schemes were entirely exploded;[17] and Lewis, leaving Germany in apparent security, set out for Italy, early in the year 1327.[18] From this time, Frederic the Handsome seems to have relinquished all claim to the imperial title; retaining that of King of the Romans until his death, which took place three years after the departure of his rival and colleague.[19]

Lewis sets out for Italy. 1327.

[17] Schmidt, vol. III. p. 530.

[18] Murat. ad. annum.

[19] Pfeffel, p. 491.

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EXPEDITION OF LEWIS V. INTO ITALY.

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THE news of the projected expedition into Italy was received with great rejoicing by the Ghibellin party. Their leaders were men of energy and military renown; yet they had to struggle with the potent thunders of the Pope, and the still more potent arms of Robert of Naples. Galeazzo Visconte was confirmed by Lewis in the government of Milan, and Cane dalla Scala in that of Verona.[1] But of all the Ghibellin chiefs the renowned Castruccio Castracani was the most conspicuous. In early life he had been driven out of Lucca by the Guelphs, together with his father Geri degl' Interminelli; and on Geri's decease migrated to England, where he continued to reside until the accidental death of a young noble by his hand compelled him to fly the island. The profitable traffic of Flanders tempted him thither; but upon his arrival, the contests between the Flemings and Philip the Fair presented a trade more congenial to his taste. After evincing his bravery and spirit in Flanders he ventured to return to his own country,

Galeazzo Visconte, Lord of Milan.

Cane dalla Scala, Lord of Verona.

Castruccio Castracani, Lord of Lucca.

[1] See Tables XXXVII, XXXIX.

and soon became a favourite with his fellow-citizens. But under the severe government of Uguccione da Faggiuola an excess of merit was a dangerous quality. Castruccio was thrown into a dungeon, where he lay, in daily expectation of death, until the expulsion of his persecutor's son restored him to liberty and the notice of his countrymen. Perhaps to his unmerited sufferings he owed his sudden elevation, more than to his virtues or endowments. Whilst the people testified their hatred for the tyrant, the object of his oppression naturally forced himself into their compassionate remembrance; and in one of Fortune's merriest moods, Castruccio was lifted from the privations of a dungeon to the command of a state. But the blind goddess tempered her jocularity with more than ordinary discretion; the new Lord was every way worthy his elevation; in a career of considerable length he acquired one of the greatest names of the fourteenth century; and raised Lucca to a pitch of importance she had never before enjoyed.[2] His active and successful warfare upon the Florentines and other Guelphic powers ensured him the hatred of Pope John; and he incurred the papal censures in common with other chiefs, who were found guilty of the *heresy of Ghibellinism*.[3]

Robert, King of Naples.

As a counterpoise to these Ghibellin leaders, the Guelphs relied on Robert, King of Naples, and Bertrand de Poiet, the papal legate in Italy.[4] To

[2] Denina, Riv. Ital. Lib. XIV. c. .

[3] Murat. Ann. 1325.

[4] Scandal accused Pope John XXII. of being the father of Bertrand.

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the former the Florentines once more applied for assistance; and offered to elect his son, Charles, Duke of Calabria, their Lord for five years. Charles was now engaged in war with Frederic, King of Sicily; for the present, therefore, he delayed accepting the offer of Florence; but sent as his representative Walter de Brienne, Duke of Athens, a Frenchman by birth; and as soon as the Sicilians left him leisure, he himself marched to the relief of the city.[5] To the legate Bertrand several cities cheerfully surrendered themselves: Bologna and Parma readily received him as their Lord; and Modena, which had for a time submitted to Passerino Buonacossi, revolted in his absence, and followed the example of Bologna.[6] These measures checked the progress of the Ghibellins and revived their drooping opponents; and they now looked anxiously for the moment when they should be reinforced by the presence of Lewis of Bavaria.

Bertrand de Poiet, the Pope's Legate. 1327.

Lewis enters Italy. 1327.

In February 1327 Lewis appeared at Trent, and was immediately joined by Azzo and Marco Visconte, Obizzo d'Este, Passerino Lord of Mantua, Cane dalla Scala Lord of Verona, and by the ambassadors of Pisa, of Castruccio Lord of Lucca, and of Frederic King of Sicily. In a *Parliament* it was resolved that he should at once proceed to Rome; and the Italian chiefs undertook to supply him with a hundred and fifty thousand florins of

[5] Murat. Ann. 1322. 1326.—Machiav. Ist. Fior. Lib. II.—Giov. Villani, Lib. IX. c. 333. 351. Lib. X. c. 1.

[6] Giov. Villani, Lib. X. c. 9. 23.

gold. Some idle retaliations of condemnation and deposition were aimed at the Pope, and the charge of heresy was echoed back upon Avignon. Lewis advanced through Como to Milan, where he was joyfully and honourably received by Galeazzo Visconte. His coronation with the Iron crown was performed in the church of St. Ambrose, his consort Margaret being at the same time honoured with a coronet of gold; and accident or design committed the ceremony to three bishops[7] who had all incurred the papal denunciation. But these amicable greetings and festive pageants were but false indications of the real spirit which filled the confederate chiefs; Galeazzo had grown odious to his brother Marco and the nobles of Milan; and the designing Cane Scala had views upon the divided city. A mystery involves the cause of Lewis's resentment.[8] Galeazzo and his son, together with his brothers Lucchino, Stefano and Giovanni, were arrested and sent prisoners to Monza; and became the first to inhabit the gloomy dungeons which their own ingenuity had lately constructed for the incarceration of their enemies. The government of Milan was remodelled:—twenty-four nobles, subject to an imperial vicar, were constituted rulers; and the change was purchased at the price of sixty-thousand florins[9] paid to the King of the Romans.

Revolution in Milan.

[7] Federigo de' Maggi, of Brescia;—Guido Tarlati, of Arezzo;—Henry of Trent.

[8] Villani refers it to Galeazzo's refusal to supply Lewis with money, Lib. X. c. 31.

[9] Villani, ub. sup.

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Cremona, Parma, and Lucca were visited by Lewis. Castruccio's services were rewarded with the title of *Duke* of Lucca and Pistoia; and his assistance was required against the Pisans, who dared to close their gates against the King; a discourteous proceeding, which exposed them to a month's siege, and a contribution of fifty thousand florins.[10] Towards the end of the year the German forces occupied the Maremma, and Lewis prepared to enter Rome. His residence in Viterbo was signalized by
1328. a deed too remarkable to be omitted. The governor Silvestro de' Gatti was courteous in his reception, but less liberal in his supplies of money than accorded with the wishes of Lewis: Silvestro was therefore put to the torture in order to discover his treasure; and the loss of thirty thousand florins and of the signory of Viterbo made the Bavarian expedition a memorable event in the life of the Italian noble.[11] The King accompanied by Castruccio entered the Leonine city on the 7th of January 1328.

Lewis enters Rome.

After a short interval of repose, Lewis crossed the Tiber and ascended the Capitol. The degenerate Romans were enraptured by a speech in which their Cæsar set forth their merits, and promised the augmented prosperity and grandeur of their city; and they immediately hailed him as Senator and

Lewis crowned Emperor. 17th Jan.

Captain of Rome. His coronation was soon afterwards performed in St. Peter's by Albert, Bishop of

[10] Villani, c. 34.—A hundred and sixty thousand. Denina, Lib. XIV. c. 5.

Venice, who like himself lay under the papal censures. Upon this occasion Castruccio was knighted by the Emperor; and received other marks of imperial favour. The senatorial dignity was conferred upon him as the vicar of Lewis in Rome; and the golden embroidery on his robe of crimson silk intimated his present and future acquiescence in the decrees of heaven.[12] CHAPTER XX.

Lewis of Bavaria had atchieved a triumph in thus receiving the imperial diadem in contempt of the implacable Pontiff. He now resolved to re-assert the maxim, that no Pope could be recognized as the true head of the Church unless he obtained the Emperor's confirmation. A full assembly was convened in the court of St. Peter's; and the *intruder* John was formally summoned to his trial for heresy and usurpation. No voice replied to the summons: and the articles of accusation were exhibited with the grave precision of judicial investigation. John, Bishop of Cahors, was convicted of heresy, and lese-majesty towards the Emperor; and was in due form deposed from the Roman see. A salutary law was passed, which obliged all future Popes to reside on their diocese; and, with the approbation of the Romans, Lewis introduced into the holy chair Pietro da Corvara, a Franciscan friar. But here a new difficulty occurred: no cardinal could be found who might consecrate the new bishop; and the new bishop prematurely created seven car-

18th April.

23d April.

12th May.

[12] In front were the words "E quello che Dio vuole." Behind, "Sarà quello che Dio vorrà." Mur. Ann.

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Nicholas V. Antipope. 22d May.

dinals, by one of whom he was installed Pope, with the title of Nicholas V. To obviate any defects in his own coronation, Lewis now caused the ceremony to be repeated; and Nicholas placed the imperial diadem upon his head.[13] To such wretched devices was the successor of Octavius and Charlemagne reduced! nor did any one venture to whisper in his ear that the second coronation threw a stain upon the first; that it admitted the irregularity of the Pope's accession, since no *Emperor* had confirmed his election; and that he himself was still a spurious Emperor, because he had received the crown from a spurious Pope.[14] Never was there presented a fairer opportunity for dissipating the papal pretensions to interfere in the imperial election. The Cæsar stood in his capital surrounded by the obsequious Romans; and the Pope, instead of being present to assert his claims, had abandoned Rome and settled himself under a foreign dominion. Yet such was the timidity of Lewis, such his inveterate awe of the priesthood, that he feared to accept his crown from the people; and resorted to a clumsy device rather than contravene the monstrous assumptions of the clergy. He ventured, indeed, to war with John; but it was with John, Bishop of Cahors, not John XXII. Pope of Rome; and he raised up a phantom in his place only to shew his servile veneration for the holy see.

The sanguine hopes of the Ghibellins had been

[13] Giov. Villani, Lib. X. c. 54. 55. 72. 74. 75.

[14] Murat. Ann. 1328.—The worthy annalist loudly exclaims against this

miserably disappointed since the arrival of Lewis in Italy. They had hoped for an active and vigorous supporter; they found a greedy and burdensome oppressor. His progress through their cities had been marked by rapacity and extortion, and nothing had been attempted for the humiliation of the Guelphs. His long sojourn in Rome gave time to that party to organize resistance; and during his residence in that city he was deprived of his most valuable ally. On the first news of his march to Rome Charles, Duke of Calabria, had quitted Florence to join his father Robert for the defence of his dominions, and the vicar whom Charles left in Tuscany struck an important blow against the Ghibellins. The life and soul of the expedition of Lewis was Castruccio; throughout his passage in Italy that energetic captain had supported him with his councils and his presence; and from the moment he lost that support, he tottered helpless and forsaken. In Rome, Castruccio learnt that his own dominions were in jeopardy. Pistoia was already in the hands of Sanguineto the Florentine vicar: and cardinal Bertrand the Pope's legate was in the field with a numerous body of Bolognese and their allies. Forgetful at once of his knighthood, his senatorial dignity, and his crimson robe, Castruccio deserted his Bavarian patron, and with the utmost rapidity arrived in Pisa.[15] The formidable strength

Castruccio deserts Lewis.

bestialità, mostruosità, ed empietà detestata;—this *empia tragedia*;—a proof of his orthodoxy, for John XXII, is not *personally* a favourite with him.

[15] Giov. Villani, Lib. X. c. 58.

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of his enemies made him cautious of a battle; but, by the dissensions of the people and the treachery of the governor, Pistoia was betrayed into his hands.

Death of Castruccio;

He returned to Lucca only to die. Finding the hand of death upon him, he summoned his three sons to his bed; bequeathed his dominions to Henry, the eldest; exhorted them to unanimity and brotherly love; and expired with resignation in the forty-eighth year of his age.[16] His valour was undisputed; his ambition unstained by vicious or cruel propensities; and the terrour with which he was regarded by his enemies may be best estimated by the joy which resounded through Florence on the announcement of his death. By his intercession the incarcerated Visconti had been redeemed from the dungeons of Monza; and Galeazzo died in Lucca only a few months before his protector. In that interval another Ghibellin leader perished. Passerino Bonacossi had already lost Modena; his rigorous tyranny drove Mantua to revolt; a conspiracy burst forth to his destruction; and the family of Gonzaga, who had headed the revolt, commenced their dominion in Mantua, which endured for more than four centuries.[17]

Of Galeazzo Visconte;

Of Passerino Bonacossi.

When Lewis was deserted by Castruccio, Robert,

[16] The Life of Castruccio has been written by Machiavelli, but without regard to truth, particularly as to his early days. But an authentic account composed by Nicholas Tegrimi is inserted in Muratori's Scriptores rerum Italicarum;—and the errors or fables of Machiavelli are briefly pointed out by the Abbé Sallier in the Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. VII. p. 320.

[17] The family of Gonzaga first appear in Muratori, Ann. 1109.

King of Naples, was hovering over the adjacent country; and Ostia, Anagni, and other places had already fallen into his hands. Distrustful of all around him, the new Emperor, accompanied by the new Pope, quitted Rome, amidst the insults of the capricious people; and on the following day Bertoldo degl' Orsini and Stefano Colonna took possession in the name of John XXII. On his march Lewis learnt the death of Castruccio, and hurried to Pisa to secure that city. The joy with which he was there received was converted into murmurs by a new demand of a hundred thousand florins. Lucca was visited by a still heavier extortion; and the sons of Castruccio were expelled the city. They were, however, enabled to repurchase the signory; but the price had scarcely been paid before the state was wrested from them, and sold by Lewis to a higher bidder. Whilst the Emperor was thus resorting to the most unworthy means of accumulating money, his own soldiers remained unpaid; and his agent Marco Visconte was seized by the Germans; who broke out into an insurrection and attacked Lucca, which they plundered and reduced to their possession.[18] Azzo Visconte, though invested by Lewis with the government of Milan, secretly renounced his alliance; and together with his kinsmen the marquisses of Este became reconciled to the court of Avignon.[19]

The German monarch had now been deprived by death or desertion of almost all those Ghibellin chiefs

[18] Giov. Villani, Lib. X. c. 105. 127.

[19] Giov. Villani, Lib. X. c. 142.

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who had welcomed him to Italy. Cane dalla Scala still survived; but Cane was too deeply engaged in his own ambitious designs to devote himself to the interests of a stranger. Padua, long the object of his desire, had been ceded to him by the Carrara; and the transfer was sealed by the marriage of his nephew Mastino with Taddea daughter of Jacopo da Carrara. Cane did not long survive this splendid acquisition; he was cut off by disease in the following year at the age of forty-one; and his extensive possessions, including Verona, Vicenza, and Padua, submitted to his nephews Alberto and Mastino.[20]

Of Cane Scala; 1329.

The prisons of Monza had made a deep impression upon the Visconti; and though Lewis had subsequently treated them as his friends, he was soon convinced of their disaffection. He, therefore, quitted Pisa for Lombardy; but had the mortification to find the gates of Lodi, Monza, and Milan closed against him. Thus braved and baffled, he retired to Trent, where evil tidings assailed him. Frederic of Austria died early in 1330;[21] and a strong party was endeavouring to procure the election of his brother Otho as King of the Romans. The Emperor at once bade farewell to Italy; nor did he ever again enter that country, where his name had become odious to both Guelphs and Ghibellins. He had scarcely crossed the Alps ere the Pisans threw off his yoke, expelled the imperial vicar, and seized upon the Antipope Nicholas V.

And of Frederic of Austria.

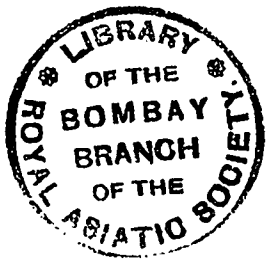
Lewis quits Italy.

[20] Murat. Annali.

[21] January 13th.

That unfortunate priest, after abjuring his errors in Pisa, was transported to Avignon; where his submission was accepted by Pope John, and he was permitted to end his days in an easy confinement.[22]

[22] Giov. Villani, Lib. X. c. 131. 160.



CHAPTER XXI.

REIGN OF LEWIS V. CONTINUED. REVOLT OF CHARLES OF BOHEMIA. DEATH OF LEWIS.

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THE return of Lewis to Germany dissipated the schemes of his adversaries; and the Dukes of Austria, turning aside from the exhortations of the Pope, entered into a treaty of alliance with the Emperor.[1]

Lewis could look back with little satisfaction on his expedition into Italy. The irregular manner of his coronation raised a doubt as to his right to the imperial title; and his fair fame had been injured by his despotic and extortionate conduct towards the Italian princes. Unwilling, however, to renounce his claims upon Italy he appointed as his vicar-general John, King of Bohemia; and that monarch marched across the Alps at the head of a large army. At the moment of his arrival the Brescians were closely besieged by Mastino dalla Scala, who had taken up the cause of the exiled Ghibellins. In their distress the besieged addressed themselves to King John, and promised to create him Lord of their city. He readily accepted the

John of Bohemia, imperial vicar in Italy. 1330.

[1] Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 494.

offer; marched to the relief of Brescia; compelled Mastino to retire; and composing the differences between Guelph and Ghibellin, astonished the people by the good order he established among them. Captivated by this example, other states immediately craved his good offices: the dissensions of Bergamo were allayed by his skill; Azzo Visconte submitted to reign as his vicar in Milan; and the cites of Pavia, Vercelli, Novara, Reggio, Parma, and Modena, simultaneously appointed him their Lord. His fame soon spread into Tuscany. The German insurgents, after in vain offering Lucca for sale to Florence, disposed of it for thirty thousand florins to Gherardino Spinola, a wealthy Genoese. No sooner was the bargain completed, than the Florentines began to desire what they had lately slighted; and by the assistance of Robert, King of Naples, Lucca was on the point of becoming their prey. Spinola, therefore, applied to John of Bohemia, and offered him the signory of the city on condition of being appointed his vicar: but John, having forced the Florentines to retire, took possession of Lucca, which the unfortunate owner was compelled to abandon.[2]

He becomes Lord of many cities. 1331.

The King of Bohemia had never been remarkable for his good faith or the steadiness of his friendships. Lewis of Bavaria had already experienced how little he could be trusted; and probably sent him into Italy in order to be secure from his machinations at home. If the designs of John

[2] Murat. Ann. 1331.—Giov. Villani, Lib. X. c. 166. 169. 171.

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were really honest towards his master, the facility with which he won the Italian cities soon undermined his fidelity; and all parties began to discover that they had admitted amongst them a subtle and ambitious intriguer. The Ghibellins saw with alarm a strict intercourse set on foot between the King and Bertrand de Poiet; and the Guelphs were no less distrustful, lest this unpropitious conjunction boded their subjection to a foreign master. It was a new and singular sight to behold these ancient opponents lay aside for once their inveterate dissension. But in the common danger union was wise; and the arms and counsels of the Estensi, the Scala, the Gonzaghi, and the Visconti were supported and fortified by the adherence of Florence and Naples.[3]

Union of Guelphs and Ghibellins.

John now summoned his son Charles into Italy; and leaving him in charge of his new dominions, departed to Avignon, the better to carry on his negotiations with the Pope.[4] But his crooked policy being obvious to the Emperor, that Prince renewed his alliance with Dukes Albert and Otho of Austria; and, strengthened by the Kings of Poland and Hungary, commenced an attack upon Bohemia, whilst John was far away.[5] In Italy also the confederate forces were in the field; and the Lombard princes had already settled the division of the spoil: to Azzo were allotted Bergamo and Cremona; Parma to the Scala; Reggio to the

Lewis attacks Bohemia. 1332.

[3] Murat. Ann. 1331.

[4] Giov. Villani, Lib. X. c. 179.

[5] Giov. Villani, c. 193.—Coxe, p. 152.

Gonzaghi; and Modena to the marquisses of Este. The first acquisition was Brescia, which surrendered to Mastino dalla Scala; Bergamo next yielded to Azzo Visconte; and he shortly afterwards occupied Pavia. But at San Felice the princes of Este sustained a signal overthrow by the united forces of the papal adherents and Charles, prince of Bohemia; and Bertrand de Poiet, now created Count of Romagna and Marquis of Ancona, grew intent on the seizure of Ferrara. The Estensi were on the brink of ruin, when the welcome re-inforcement of Azzo and Mastino arrived in the city. In a general council of war it was resolved to attack the army of the legate; and Rinaldo d' Este headed a sally, in which he was bravely supported by his gallant confederates. The rout of the papal forces was complete; the field was strewed with the bodies of the vanquished; and some of the principal nobles of Bologna and Romagna fell into the conqueror's hands. The defeat of Bertrand gave courage to his subjects, who groaned beneath his oppression; Rimini, Forli, Ravenna, and other cities were soon in open rebellion. The King of Bohemia returned from Avignon into Lombardy to witness the inconstancy of the fickle Italians; and he quickly followed his son Charles, who had already retired across the Alps.[6] The last blow to the fortunes of the legate was struck by Bologna. The apparent tranquillity of that city induced Bertrand to listen to the advice of the citizens, that the

Victories of the Lombard princes.

John abandons Italy. 1333.

[6] Murat Ann. 1333. Giov. Villani, Lib. X. c. 179. 201. 225. Lib. XI. c. 5.

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garrison should march forth to quell their insurgent neighbours. But no sooner were the troops withdrawn than the streets resounded with the cry of "Popolo! popolo!—death to the traitors!"—The legate was besieged in his castle. The French within the city were put to the sword; and it was only at the earnest solicitations of Florence that Bertrand was permitted to escape uninjured. He was allowed to fly to Avignon; but the furious citizens demolished his castle, and not one stone was suffered to remain upon another. These violent measures, however, produced no harmony in Bologna; the Pepoli[7] and other powerful nobles commenced a struggle for the mastery; and the unhappy city again became the scene of anarchy and confusion.[8]

Bertrand de Poiet expelled Italy. 1334.

The cities ceded to the Lombard princes. 1335-1336.

In Lombardy, Cremona, Parma, Reggio, and Modena were still possessed by the vicars of the Bohemian King, who had purchased from him the respective signories.[9] But by the active exertions of the confederate chiefs every one of these states surrendered to the leader to whom it had been allotted; and Lucca was also assigned to the Scala. Thus then the dominion of John, King of Bohemia, was totally abolished in Italy; and his rapidly

[7] Roméo, the ancestor of Taddeo Pepoli (first Lord of Bologna in 1337), had obtained in 1321 sufficient consideration to be expelled the city. He died at Avignon in the following year.

[8] Giov. Villani, Lib. XI. c. 6. 7.

[9] He sold Cremona to Ponzino Ponzoni;—Parma (with Lucca) to the Rossi;—Reggio to the Fogliani;—Modena to the Pii.—Giov. Villani, Lib. X. c. 225.—Sismondi, tom. V. p. 216.

acquired power, almost as rapidly annihilated, rested like a feverish dream on the distempered minds of the people. But though delivered from a foreign despot, the confederates viewed with distrust the encreasing dominions of one of their own body. Whilst Alberto dalla Scala abandoned himself to the luxurious dictates of a pacific temper, his brother Mastino, now Lord of Verona, Vicenza, Brescia, Parma, Padua, and Lucca, began to affect the state of royalty; and he is even said to have prepared a crown of gold by which he might be crowned King of Lombardy. A quarrel with the haughty government of Venice compelled Mastino to call his friends around him, and he had the mortification to find himself almost entirely forsaken. Even his staunch allies the Carrara shewed symptoms of hostility; and, united with the Visconti, the Estensi, and the Gonzaghi, they succeeded in wresting Padua from him, the signory of which was conferred by the people upon Marsilio da Carrara.[10] Florence, long coveting Lucca, joined in the league, and laid waste the surrounding territory; whilst Brescia was reduced by Azzo Visconte, and Verona was insulted by the Venetian general. To complete his embarrassment, he incurred the direst censures of the Pope for the wanton murder of his own kinsman, the bishop of Verona. Oppressed by these complicated reverses, he was glad to make a peace, by which he was stripped of all his domi-

League against Mastino Scala; 1337.

He loses Padua;

Brescia;

[10] Marsilio did not long enjoy his signory. He died in the following year, 1338, and was succeeded by his cousin Ubertino. Murat. Ann.—The same year was fatal to Theodore, Marquis of Montferrat, and the year following to Azzo Visconte. ibid.

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nions except Verona, Vicenza, Parma, and Lucca; and he purchased pardon from the holy see by submitting to hold his dominions of the Pope, *vacante imperio,* at an annual tribute of five thousand florins. But even these submissions could not protect him from further losses. Parma was treacherously incited to revolt from his power; and his pecuniary distresses compelled him to sell Lucca to Florence for the sum of two hundred and fifty thousand florins.[11]

Parma; 1341.

And Lucca.

During these revolutions in Italy, the Emperor Lewis was straining every nerve to obtain a reconciliation with the Pope, and the removal of the anathemas which pressed heavily upon him. But the relentless John XXII. refused to listen to any entreaties, until Lewis should consent to abdicate the throne, and submit to the disposal of the crown on some uncontaminated head. The resolution of the troubled Emperor already began to waver, when the death of his inexorable enemy gave him a timely respite. John expired at Avignon in 1334, in the nineteenth year of his reign. Avarice was his ruling passion; no device was omitted by which his coffers might be filled; he is usually said to have instituted *Annates*;[12] and benefices frequently remained empty, whilst he himself received the revenues of the church. Not content with the two crowns of his predecessors,[13] he added a third to

Death of John XXII. 1334.

[11] Murat. Ann. 1336—1341.—Giov. Villani, Lib. XI. c. 45. 50.—133.

[12] The first year's income of ecclesiastical benefices. "Now all countries admitted of this usage, except the English, who granted it only in case of bishoprics, but not in other benefices." Rycaut's Platina, p. 333.

[13] Symmachus was the first Pope who wore a crown, which was sent to him by Clovis:—the second was added by Boniface VIII. Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 11.

the papal tiara; and his conduct towards Lewis of Bavaria evinces the extravagant notions he entertained of the pontifical authority. He was immediately succeeded by Cardinal Jacques Fournier, also a Frenchman, who adopted the name of Benedict XII. The new Pope had great reputation for his learning and the purity of his morals: and when the Romans upon his elevation besought him to reside in their city, the good father for a moment listened to their invitation. But the Kings of France and Naples too well appreciated the advantage of retaining the Pope at Avignon; the design was altogether abandoned by the pliant Benedict; and Rome was doomed to be deprived of her bishop for the period of the Babylonish captivity.[14]

Benedict XII. 1334-1342.

By the dictates of Charles IV. and Philip VI. of France, John XXII. had been fortified in his unsparing bitterness towards Lewis V. Benedict XII. under similar influence followed the course of his predecessor, and refused to admit the legality of the Emperor's title. About this time, the attention of Europe was directed to the contest between France and England; and Edward III. turned aside his ravages from Scotland for a more noble and valuable conquest. The long hostility of the Flemings to France rendered their alliance of the greatest importance; and Edward desired to obtain from Lewis the title of vicar-general of the Empire in the Netherlands. Lewis readily acceded to his request; and in an interview with Edward at Cob-

[14] Murat. Ann. 1330-1336. – Giov. Villani, Lib. XI. c. 30-44.

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lentz, he recognized him as lawful King of France, created him by patent his vicar, and commanded all the the German states which lay between Cologne and the sea to assist the English in the war against Philip, the *pretended* King of France.[15]

Lewis creates Edward III. of England, vicar of the Empire. 1338.

While Lewis was thus awarding the crown of France, his own continued to sit but loosely on his head. The bishops whom he had sent to Avignon to propitiate Benedict were dismissed with a vague and evasive reply; and he could now only throw himself upon the loyalty of his own subjects. In a Diet at Frankfort he expatiated to the assembly on the injurious treatment he had so long sustained, and on the anathemas which had been so unmeritedly poured upon him; and solemnly protested his adherence to the catholic faith. The States warmly applauded his wisdom and moderation; a Diet was soon afterwards convened at Rense, where a resolution was unanimously passed, which subsequently, in a Diet at Frankfort, became a fundamental law of the Empire. It was resolved that the imperial authority depended upon God alone; that it could only be conferred by the electoral Princes; that he who obtained the majority of votes was the true and lawful King and Emperor, without any concurrence or confirmation of the Pope; that the holy see possessed no *temporal* superiority over the Empire; and that all who presumed to entertain doctrines at variance with this resolution were guilty of lese-majesty, and liable as such to be

Declaration of Frankfort. 1339.

[15] Pfeffel, p. 501.—Froissart, vol. I. c. 34.—Rapin, tom. III. p. 174.

punished.[16] Lewis now once again addressed himself to the court of Avignon; and apprehending that his connexion with England might injure him in the eyes of the French Pope, he revoked the patent of Edward as vicar-general, and entered into an alliance with Philip, who undertook to reconcile him to the holy see.[17]

But ere this desirable object could be effected, the Emperor found he had to contend with a foe, whose power he had underrated, and whose wrath was now inextinguishably kindled. The aggression upon his territory during his absence at Avignon might have been pardoned by John, King of Bohemia; but a new affront was unfortunately offered which admitted of no reparation. John-Henry, Margrave of Moravia, second son of the King of Bohemia, had married Margaret, surnamed *Maultasche,* daughter of Henry of Carinthia, and heiress of the county of Tyrol. But the marriage proved a source of mutual disquiet; and Margaret obtained a divorce, upon the alledged impotence of her husband. No sooner had the sentence received the imperial fiat than Margaret entered into wedlock with Lewis, son of the Emperor; and his father immediately invested him with the Tyrol in prejudice to the rights of the House of Luxemburg. 1341. 1342.

From that moment, John, King of Bohemia, spared no pains to compass the ruin of the Emperor. Neither age nor blindness had quenched his ener-

[16] Pfeffel, p, 500.

[17] Rapin, tom. III. p. 180.—Struvius, p. 606.

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gies; and he now traversed Germany and France, exciting the enemies of Lewis to unite for his destruction. At this juncture Pope Benedict died, and another Frenchman, Clement VI., was elected to the apostolic chair. Instigated by the blind old King, the new Pope repeated the anathemas of his predecessors, and called upon Lewis to renounce the throne. The efforts of the King and the Pope were but too successful; Germany was again convulsed by civil war; and Charles, eldest son of King John, suffered himself to become the creature of Clement, who promised to raise him to the Empire on the following terms. He agreed to annul all the acts and decrees of Lewis of Bavaria; to assign to the holy see the city of Rome, the dutchy of Ferrara, the estates of the Church, and all the imperial rights in Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica; to exercise no sovereign authority in Lombardy or Tuscany without the consent of the Pope; and to enter Rome only for his coronation, and immediately afterwards to withdraw from the city. Charles and his father having accepted these ignominious conditions, Clement next attempted to gain the Electors. Those of Cologne, Treves, and Saxony, were easily bought over; and the Pope, finding the Elector of Mentz still true to Lewis, deposed him from his see, and nominated in his place Gerlac of Nassau. Five votes being thus secured, an electoral assembly was convoked at Rense; and Charles of Bohemia was declared to be elected King of the Romans. The other princes

Clement VI. 1342-1352.

Revolt of Charles of Bohemia. 1346.

of Germany, however, continued unshaken in the cause of their Emperor; and the new King and his blind father betook themselves to France in aid of their kinsman Philip VI.[18] In the famous battle of Creci, John, King of Bohemia, closed his career of intrigue and ambition. With characteristic obstinacy he persisted, notwithstanding his blindness, in being led into the conflict; and may be accounted the most illustrious warrior who fell that day on the side of the French.[19]

Charles of Bohemia elected King of the Romans. 1346.

Death of John, King of Bohemia;

Charles, now King of Bohemia, returned into Germany after the disaster of Creci, and endeavoured to make good his title to the Empire by force of arms. After ravaging Lower Bavaria with fire and sword, he was defeated by the imperial forces, and compelled to retire into Bohemia. Thither Lewis was about to pursue him, when an attack of apoplexy terminated his life at the age of sixty-one, after a reign of thirty-three years.[20] He was, upon the whole, a great and meritorious prince; of undoubted valour; wise and moderate under the unceasing persecution to which the insane pretensions of three successive Popes exposed him. It had been well for his memory had he imitated the example of Rodolph of Hapsburg, and altogether abstained from Italy; his expedition

And of Lewis V. 1347.

[18] Pfeffel, p. 505.—Coxe's House of Austria, p. 156.—Gutte, daughter of the King of Bohemia, was married to John, Duke of Normandy, eldest son of Philip VI., and afterwards King of France. See Appendix, Table XXV.

[19] Froissart, c. 130.—Giov. Villani, Lib. XII. c. 67.—Père Daniel, tom. V. p 388.—Hume, vol. II. p. 436.

[20] Struvius, p. 610.—Pfeffel, p. 507.

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thither detracts from his reputation; and his arbitrary proceedings have drawn down from the Italian historians the bitterest invectives, whilst they persist in denying him the title of Emperor.[21] It was in the last year of Lewis V. that the enthusiastic and eloquent, but vain and fantastical, Cola Rienzi[22] assumed the government of Rome; and in the intoxication of his extraordinary elevation, the low-born tribune presumed to summon before him the rival kings and the noblest sons of Germany.[23]

[21] They reproach him with dying unabsolved by the holy Church.—He died, says Villani, Lib. XII. c. 106. "Sanza penitenza, scomunicato e dannato da santa Chiesa; imperocchè n' era *persiguitatore* e nemico. E nota, che chi muore in contumacia di santa Chiesa e scomunicato, sempre pare che faccia mala fine." Poor Villani was himself swept off in the following year by the plague, so admirably described by Boccaccio.

[22] Uomo fantastico: dall' un canto facea la figura d' Eroe, dall' altro di Pazzo. Murat. Ann. 1347.

[23] Gibbon, vol. XII. p. 347.—Sismondi, Repub. Ital. tom. V. p. 416.

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ELECTION OF CHARLES IV. AFFAIRS OF SWITZERLAND; AND OF ITALY.

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CHARLES, King of Bohemia, was at the head of a powerful army on his march for Bavaria, when he learned the death of the Emperor. But Charles deceived himself in supposing that this event would enable him to occupy the German throne without opposition. His meanness and rapacity were too well known to the electors to admit of his unanimous election; Henry of Virnenburg, the deposed archbishop of Mentz, Lewis I. Elector of Brandenburg, Rupert, Elector Palatine, and Eric I. Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg assembled at Lahnstein; and, declaring the former election of Charles a nullity, fixed upon Edward III. King of England as a monarch worthy their choice. The character of Edward had been advantageously displayed whilst vicar-general of the Empire; and his renown was recently augmented by the splendid victory of Creci and the famous siege of Calais. He was, however, too intent upon the conquest of France to hazard a division of his forces; the example of Richard of Cornwall was before his eyes;

The Empire offered to Edward III. King of England; 1348.

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and he had the wisdom to decline the offer. He merely availed himself of the occasion to detach Charles from the French cause; and in consideration of Edward's refusal, the King of Bohemia engaged to remain neuter in the contest between England and France.[1]

And to Frederic II. Landgrave of Thuringia.

The four electors next fixed their choice upon Frederic II. Landgrave of Thuringia, who had married a daughter of the late Emperor. But that nobleman preferred a bribe to the imperial crown, and received from Charles ten thousand marks as the price of his refusal.[2] Not disheartened by this second rejection, the electors addressed themselves to Gontram or Günther, Count of Schwartzburg, one of the ablest generals of the age, and of no less wisdom than valour. Günther readily accepted an offer which promised him some warlike pastime; and having taken possession of Frankfort, he was there solemnly enthroned. But his death immediately delivered Charles from a formidable rival, though it threw upon him the heavy charge of having poisoned Günther.[3]

Günther of Schwartzburg, King of the Romans; 1349.

His death.

Second election of Charles IV.

Thus relieved from competition, Charles succeeded in gaining over the other electors. He married the daughter of Rodolph II. Count Palatine; he invested Lewis of Brandenburg with the Tyrol, and ratified his marriage with Margaret Maultasche, thereby admitting the alledged impotence of his brother John. At length, having se-

[1] Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 512.—Rapin, tom. III. p. 200.
[2] Struvius, p. 618.
[3] Pfeffel, p. 516.

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cured all the votes, he was content to be chosen a second time; and was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle by the Elector of Cologne.

Affairs of Switzerland.

Though the genius of Charles had nothing of a warlike character, he was induced to unsheath his sword in behalf of Albert II. Duke of Austria, who was eagerly labouring at the subjection of the Swiss Confederacy. In the year 1332 Lucerne, weary of the Austrian yoke, sought to unite herself with the three Forest cantons; and was accordingly received into their fraternity. But in this association of the *four* forest cantons, the *rights* of the House of Austria were strictly respected; and all its privileges, jurisdictions, and prerogatives recognized and confirmed by the contracting parties.[4] Nineteen years afterwards the Swiss confederacy was encreased by the junction of Zurich; and in the following year, Glaris, Zug, and Berne were also incorporated. These curtailments of the Austrian authority were not effected without strong attempts on the part of Albert to maintain the pretensions of his house; and Charles for a short period lent his feeble aid in opposing the cause of freedom. But either wearied by a conflict from which he could gain no advantage, or dreading the ascendancy of Austria, he suddenly deserted the duke; and precipitately striking his camp departed from the field in great disorder, leaving Albert to carry on the war; which was terminated in 1358 by the death of that eminent prince.[5]

Lucerne joins the confederacy; 1332.

And Zurich; 1351.

And Glaris, Zug, and Berne. 1352.

Charles IV. in Switzerland. 1354.

[4] Planta, vol. I. p. 297.

[5] Planta, vol. I. c. IX.—Coxe, p. 168.

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Affairs of Italy.

A more favourite enterprise with Charles was an expedition into Italy, where strange changes had taken place since Lewis of Bavaria quitted that country; and in the kingdom of Naples an event had occurred which awakened the attention of all Europe. The lofty hopes of Robert, King of Naples, which once aspired to the *kingdom* of Italy, had been frustrated by the expeditions of Henry VII. and Lewis V.; and the premature death of his only son Charles, Duke of Calabria, in 1328 blunted his ambition and depressed his energies. Genoa, who during her anxious siege, had placed herself under his protection, broke out into a paroxysm of
1335. rebellion, and expelled the Guelphs from the city. Asti also, his chief remaining possession in Lom-
1339. bardy, was snatched from him by John II. Marquis of Montferrat, the valiant son of the inglorious Theodore. Against Sicily his efforts were few and languid; and although the death of the renowned
1337. Frederic and the succession of his imbecile son Peter II. invited him to the recapture of the island, the siege and conquest of Milazzo was all that

Death of Robert, King of Naples. 1343.

Robert accomplished. After a long and busy reign he expired in the beginning of 1343. His love of justice and his encouragement of learning [6] recommend his memory to posterity; and if the charge

[6] Petrarca was entertained at the court of Robert, who invited him to accept the laurel in Naples, an honour which he refused in favour of Rome. Murat. Ann. 1341. Gibbon, who has elaborately treated the character and coronation of the Poet (c. LII., mentions an invitation from Paris, but omits that from Naples. Robert, according to Froissart (vol I. c. XLII., was skilled in astrology, and foreseeing the result of the war between England and France warned his cousin Philip VI. against encountering Edward III.

of avarice be well founded, we may overlook the vice so common to old age.

Charles, Duke of Calabria, left by his wife Marie de Valois two daughters, Johanna and Maria. It had been the care of the disconsolate Robert to provide a suitable marriage for his elder granddaughter, now destined to become his successor; and at the age of seven Johanna was united to Andrew, second son of Charobert, King of Hungary. The age of the bridegroom did not exceed that of the bride; and he was committed to the care of King Robert to grow up in his future dominions. But his residence in Naples was attended by a crowd of Hungarian followers, whose uncouth manners and intemperate habits disgusted the more polished Italians; and the princess soon imbibed a distaste for her husband which appears to have ripened into hatred.[7]

Johanna I. Queen of Naples.

As soon as the death of Robert was promulgated, the adherents of Andrew caused him to be proclaimed King together with the young queen; a measure no less displeasing to the Neapolitans than to Johanna. But this unauthorized proclamation was disregarded by the papal legate, who refused to recognize the title of Andrew; and Johanna, who had just entered her seventeenth year, was alone invested with the Neapolitan crown.

[7] Murat. Ann. 342, 1343.—Gian Lib. XXII. c. 3.—The greatest contradiction prevails among the contemporaries of Andrew as to his character some representing him as a senseless barbarian—others as a spotless and virtuous prince.

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Her first care was to strengthen her party by an Italian alliance; and her sister Maria was married to Charles, Duke of Durazzo, one of her royal relatives, the most influential nobleman of the Neapolitan court. The title of Johanna to the separate dominion was still farther fortified by the investiture she received from the new Pope Clement VI.; in which she was styled "Queen of Sicily and Jerusalem,[8] dutchess of Apulia, princess of Salerno, Capua, Provence, and Forcalquier, and countess of Piedmont;" and for this she formally did homage to the legate in the church of Saint Clara.

Andrew, thus excluded from the succession, was not content to rest his claims to the crown merely on his marriage with Johanna. As the son of Charobert he was descended from the eldest branch of the family of Charles I., and, in the regular course of hereditary descent, his brother Lewis, King of Hungary, had alone a superior claim in right of primogeniture. That claim, however, Lewis consented to wave in favour of his younger brother; and at his earnest request Clement was induced to despatch an order to Naples for the coronation of Andrew. This mandate excited the greatest uneasiness in the minds of the Neapolitan princes;

[8] The title of Johanna to the crown of Jerusalem was derived from Charles I. King of Sicily, to whom it was ceded by Maria of Antioch. The death of Conradino (who was king of Jerusalem as heir of his grandfather Frederic II.) threw the succession upon the female descendants of Almeric, the son of Melisinda, daughter of Baldwin II. the cousin of Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin I. The title of Maria was disputed by Hugh, King of Cyprus, who had married her mother's eldest sister Alice. See Giannone, Lib. XVI. c. 2.—Lib. XX. c. 2. s. 1. and Père Daniel, tom. IV. p. 295.

but the people were soon astonished by a catastrophe which entirely changed the complexion of affairs.

In the month of September 1345, Andrew and the Queen retired from Naples to Aversa, and were lodged in the same apartment in the castle. It was in the depth of night that their sleep was disturbed by a loud intimation of the arrival of a messenger with news of the last importance; and Andrew was summoned from his bed to receive the momentous despatches. The prince hurried from his chamber into the adjoining room, which had been used for public business; but before he advanced many paces a cord was twisted round his neck, and he was immediately strangled. His Hungarians overwhelmed with wine and sleep were deaf to the last cries of his mortal agony; and the body, precipitated from the window into the garden, gave the first intimation of the atrocious deed. The height from which it had fallen might alone have occasioned death; but the immediate cause was too distinctly indicated to divert the suspicions, or silence the clamours, of the nation.

Murder of her husband, Andrew of Hungary. 1345.

The first suspicion fell upon Johanna. Her hatred for her husband was too notorious to admit of a doubt how agreeable his death must prove to her; and little difficulty could exist in finding amongst her Neapolitan minions the ready means of compassing the desired object. Perhaps the imputation is unjust, for nothing but suspicion ever occurred to criminate the young Queen. She wil-

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lingly listened to the request of the Neapolitans that the diabolical act should be investigated; and she shewed, or feigned, a desire that the guilty perpetrators should be brought to condign punishment. Two chamberlains of Andrew and a female attendant of the Queen were put to the torture, but nothing was extracted from them; and they testified their innocence or constancy by expiring on the rack without a syllable of confession. But a more ample retribution was exacted by Pope Clement VI., who issued a general excommunication against all implicated in the murder; and despatched a commission to Bertrando del Balzo, Chief Justiciary of Naples, for bringing the murderers to punishment. Many unfortunate wretches were delivered over to the executioner; and Johanna assiduously lent her assistance to drag from the territories of foreign princes those delinquents who had fled from justice. Her chief object, however, was to pacify her kinsman Lewis, King of Hungary, to whom she sent the bishop of Tropea, submitting herself and her infant son to the protection of Lewis with asseverations of her innocence, and claiming his compassion for her forlorn condition. But the answer of the King breathed nothing but vengeance; he expressed himself satisfied of Johanna's guilt; and intimated his immediate intention of marching into Naples, at once to avenge his brother's murder, and to possess himself of a kingdom which belonged to him of right.[9] The

[9] Gian. Lib. XXIII.—Murat. Ann. 1342, 5, 6.

bishop returned with these afflicting tidings; and the Queen sought consolation and security by espousing Lewis of Tarento, brother of Prince Robert.[10]

Her second marriage. 1347.

Such were the guilty transactions which introduced a foreign monarch into Italy for the third time in the fourteenth century. At the close of the year 1347 Lewis descended into Friuli; and as he passed with the avowed intention of molesting the kingdom of Naples only, the Italian princes vied with each other in the splendour of his reception. After partaking of the hospitality of Jacopo Carrara, Lord of Padua, he visited Vicenza and Verona, where Alberto and Mastino Scala welcomed him with honour. In Modena he was superbly entertained by Obizzo, Marquis of Este; and in Romagna, the Pepoli at Bologna, the Malatesti at Rimini, and other independent princes, were lavish in their attentions. But the ministers of the Pope manifested their master's displeasure at the Hungarian invasion. The gates of Imola and Faenza were shut against him; and at Foligno he was warned by the papal legate to desist from his undertaking upon pain of ecclesiastical censures. Little moved by these empty threats, Lewis continued his march, and arrived at Aquila: and by the beginning of the next year was at the head of a numerous army in Benevento.[11]

Lewis, King of Hungary, invades Naples. 1348.

The resources of the kingdom of Naples were

[10] Gian. Lib. XXIII. c. 1.—Murat. Ann. 1347.

[11] Murat. Ann. 1347. 1348.

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far from adequate to defy so powerful an invader. The Queen perceived the impolicy of resistance; and resolved for the present to desert her kingdom, that she might return once more sufficiently strong to disconcert her enemy. She assembled the barons and syndics of the cities; adverted to the Hungarian invasion; protested her innocence; and intimated her intention of immediately sailing for Provence, that at Avignon she might throw herself upon the justice and mercy of the Pope, and convince the world how little she deserved the calumnies heaped upon her. She appealed solemnly to God who knows all secrets, and whose assistance and protection she now invoked; she forbad the leaders to oppose the progress of Lewis, and commanded the governors of the cities to lay their keys at his feet; and she concluded by again asserting her innocence, and promising to return to the kingdom with her honour cleared from the foul stain which obscured it. Then embarking at Castel Nuovo with her husband prince Lewis and a faithful Florentine Nicolò Acciaioli, she sailed from Naples to the coast of Provence and arrived at Avignon, where she was favourably received by Pope Clement VI.

Johanna flies to Avignon.

Meanwhile King Lewis was rapidly advancing; and the princes of the blood royal[12] relying on their consanguinity with the Hungarian, and carry-

[12] I Reali. These were Robert and Philip, both sons of Philip, Prince of Tarento;—and Charles, Lewis, and Robert, sons of John, Duke of Durazzo.

ing with them the young Charobert, son of Johanna, went out with the principal barons from Naples, and met the King at Aversa. They were deceived into security by their reception; and Lewis, after a friendly banquet, proposed to proceed to Naples. He expressed a desire before they departed to be shewn the window from which his unfortunate brother had been thrown, and was accordingly conducted to the chamber the scene of the murder. Suddenly turning to Charles, Duke of Durazzo, he sternly demanded of him, Which was the window? The Duke, perceiving the snare, professed his entire ignorance; but the King, producing a letter written in Charles's character, put it into his hands; and at a signal from Lewis the prince was surrounded by the Hungarians and put to death upon the spot. His body, by a severe retribution, was cast forth into the garden below; and the other princes were secured, and transmitted to a dungeon in Hungary. The young Charobert, after receiving the caresses of his uncle who created him Duke of Calabria, was sent to the Hungarian court, where he soon afterwards died. Lewis immediately proceeded to Naples; and a funereal standard representing the tragedy of his brother's murder gave a melancholy check to the advances of the submissive Neapolitans. Rejecting every shew of honour and obedience, he passed into the city armed cap-à-pié; and shutting himself up in Castel Nuovo repulsed the approaches of the barons, and kept the people in gloomy suspense for the fate of their city and

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the security of their persons. The widowed dutchess of Durazzo fled in dismay to join her sister in Provence; and Lewis continued for two months his gloomy sojourn in Naples. He then proceeded into the south; and after consuming some time in settling the affairs of several cities, he embarked at Barletto, and returned through Sclavonia to Hungary.[13]

Lewis returns to Hungary.

The Neapolitans delivered from his presence had the additional satisfaction of learning that their Queen had obtained the favour of the Pope, who allowed her a dispensation from the ties of consanguinity, and sanctioned her marriage with her new husband. Clement also granted her a full hearing of her defence, which she pressed with so much eloquence and persuasion, that he not only pronounced her innocent, but undertook to appease the king of Hungary, and despatched an apostolic legate to treat for peace. Encouraged by these auspicious appearances, and beginning sensibly to feel the rigours of the Hungarian ministers, many Neapolitans departed into Provence; whilst secret negociations were set on foot by the barons, inviting Johanna back to her kingdom. Rejoicing in the returning smiles of her subjects, who readily adopted the papal acquittal, Johanna prepared to embark for her capital. The sale of Avignon to the holy see for an inconsiderable sum[14] expressed her obli-

[13] Mat. Villani, Lib. I. c. 14.

[14] About 80,000 gold florins. The smallness of the price has induced some writers to treat it as a *gift*.

gations to Clement; and thus furnished with a seasonable supply of money, she landed with her husband at Naples amidst the most rapturous expressions of joy. The barons and people were lavish in assurances of zeal for her interests, and their ardour to chase the Hungarians from the kingdom. But in the midst of this excess of joy and loyalty, the sudden reappearance of the king of Hungary sobered the intoxicated people; and the kingdom was once more delivered to the horrours of war. The subjects of Johanna, no longer lukewarm and languid, fought valiantly, and offered to Lewis a reception very different from that which he had lately experienced. He soon began to listen to the mediation of the Pope; consented to a truce for a year; and withdrew again into Hungary. In a short time a peace was finally concluded; Lewis was persuaded to relinquish his claims upon Naples; or, according to his own expression, to forget his displeasure at his brother's death. The incarcerated princes were released from their dungeon, and permitted to return to Naples. Lewis of Tarento and Johanna were crowned King and Queen of Sicily and Jerusalem with all imaginable splendour; and the kingdom exchanged the disasters of fire and bloodshed for the enjoyment of feasts and pageants.[15] Clement VI. did not long survive this christian office, but closed his life at Avignon early in the year 1352. His purchase of

Johanna returns to Naples.

Second invasion by Lewis. 1350.

Peace established. 1351.

[15] Mat. Villani, Lib. I. c. 83, 93.—Lib. II. c. 41, 65.—Lib. III. c. 8.—Murat. Ann. 1350.

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Avignon, procured from the penury or gratitude of Johanna, whilst it placed the Popes on their own territory instead of that of the count of Provence, was deeply injurious to Rome, and delayed the restoration of the holy see to the ancient metropolis. To console the Romans for his absence, Clement ordained the celebration of the Jubilee at every fifty years, instead of the century established by Boniface; and in 1350 the second Jubilee lightened the consciences of innumerable pilgrims much to the advantage of the extortionate Romans. To Clement succeeded cardinal Stephen Aubert, a native of Limoges, a man of learning and piety, who took the title of Innocent VI.[16]

Innocent VI. 1352-1362.

The character of the new Pope was in one principal feature essentially different from that of his predecessor. Clement was possessed of talents and acquirements, but dissolute in his habits, and intent upon promoting his relations; and scandals are narrated of the court of Avignon which appear to warrant the appellation of "The Modern Babylon." Innocent added to the learning and accomplishments of Clement a purity of manners and a zeal to reform abuses, which soon induced him to turn his attention to the state of Italy, and particularly to the cities of the Church. The prospect was indeed afflicting. The ill-starred city of Rome had passed from the command of the tribune Rienzi to the

[16] Mat. Villani, Lib. I c. 56.—Gian. Lib. XXIII. c. 1.—Murat. Ann. 1347-1352.—Froissart, vol. I. c. 154.

tyranny of her ancient nobles;[17] and while neither Emperor nor bishop appeared to assert their temporal or spiritual sovereignty, the states of Romagna were entirely in the hands of petty tyrants. Tuscany was again the seat of war; and another change had taken place in the constitution of Florence. In 1328, with a view of admitting all unexceptionable citizens in rotation to the magistracies and councils, separate lists of *popular* Guelph citizens, who had attained the age of thirty, were made out by the ninety-seven heads of the republic. Such names as obtained in a ballot sixty-eight black beans, were put into a bag; and from this they were afterwards drawn when vacancies occurred in the respective offices of the state, which for the most part were tenable for only four months. On this occasion the old councils were abolished, and two new established; one, Consiglio di Popolo, consisting of three hundred *popular* citizens; the other, Consiglio di Comune, composed of two hundred and fifty members, noble as well as popular.[18]

State of the ecclesiastical territory;

And of Florence. 1328-1351.

By an uncommon exercise of unanimity, Florence enjoyed a cessation from internal warfare from the year 1328 until 1340, when this unusual tranquillity was again disturbed by the struggles of the people against the authority of the nobles. In the midst of this confusion, the Pisans took occa-

[17] See Gibbon, vol. XII. p. 70.

[18] Viz. six Priors, twelve Buonomini, nineteen Gonfaloniers of Companies, twenty-four Consuls of Arts, and six deputies from every quarter of the city. Over this Balia, the Gonfalonier of Justice presided. Sismondi, tom. V. p. 171. note.

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sion to besiege Lucca, then newly purchased by the Florentines, which they quickly reduced to their possession, leaving to the lawful owners the poor satisfaction of murmuring against their rulers.[19] Robert, King of Naples, had been appealed to for assistance against Pisa, and by him Walter de Brienne, Duke of Athens, was again despatched to Florence.[20] On his arrival Walter found two parties ready to forward his ambitious views. By a strange union, the nobles and the lower citizens were engaged together for the depression of the middle class; and the loss of Lucca furnished an excuse for the condemnation of some of the chief citizens to whom its defence had been entrusted. Encouraged by the popular applause, the duke ventured to intimate his determination to assume the signory of the city; and in a general assembly the populace tumultuously saluted him "Lord for life." The Priors were driven from their palace, and the banners of the duke were displayed upon the walls. But both parties soon found themselves disappointed. The nobles learnt too late that, instead of crushing the populace, the duke was eager to overwhelm themselves: whilst the people, who had fondly hoped for relief from their burthens, found themselves oppressed by the tyranny of a stranger. A powerful conspiracy was therefore organized against him, and his discovery of the plot marked out many of the principal citizens for destruction.

[19] Giov. Villani, Lib. XI. c. 135. 138. 140.

[20] Ante, p. 472.

A general insurrection frustrated his plans: his palace was besieged; his person in imminent danger; and he at length purchased his life by consenting to deliver up to the infuriated multitude Guglielmo d' Aciese, one of the principal ministers of his extortions. This man, together with his son Gabbriello, a youth eighteen years of age, was thrust out of the palace to be dealt with by their enemies. The furious Florentines seized on the unhappy father and son: with their hands and teeth the sanguinary rabble tore them to pieces; and their savage lust for vengeance could only be satisfied by gnawing the limbs of their miserable victims.[21] Thus glutted with their bloody feast the people condescended to treat with their tyrant, who purchased his life by the abdication of his power and his retreat from the city.[22] During these tumultuary proceedings Arezzo, Pistoia, and other places seized the opportunity of shaking off the yoke of Florence. The Florentines remained still intent on depressing their nobles and excluding them from all share in the government; nor was the city restored to tranquillity before this object was accomplished.[23] But scarcely had the wretched

1343.

[21] Machiavelli, Lib. II.—Giov. Villani, Lib. XII. c. 2–17. The latter endeavours to excuse the barbarity of his countrymen by averring that the boy delighted to torture the citizens; and quaintly adds, " e nota, chi è crudele crudelmente more, dixit Dominus."

[22] Pignotti, Lib. III. c. 9. p. 91.—This duke of Athens afterwards fell in the battle of Poitiers, 1356. Froissart, vol. I. c. 163.

[23] Shortly after this (1345) the citizens of Florence were thrown into extreme distress by the failure of the great bankers, the Bardi, Peruzzi, Acciaioli, Bonaccorsi, and others. The Bardi, who failed for 550,000 florins,

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people rested from their fierce dissensions, ere a new affliction struck them with dismay; and a plague, which carried off nearly a hundred thousand Florentines, filled the city with scenes of horrour, which have been described with terrible minuteness by one who beheld the ravages of the disease.[24] Not, indeed, to Florence was the dreadful malady confined: after desolating the east, the infection spread through Europe; and had a Boccaccio flourished in every state, the annals of every nation might have teemed with descriptions the most awful and afflicting. From the horrours of pestilence the devoted Florentines were doomed to a new warfare; for the powerful arm of Milan was raised to overwhelm their liberties.

Great Plague. 1348.

The Visconti. 1339-1349.

On the death of Azzo Visconte in 1339 at the premature age of six and thirty, he was succeeded by his paternal uncle Lucchino, who enjoyed a victorious though tyrannical reign for ten years.[25] By his death the signory devolved to his youngest brother Giovanni, already archbishop; and thus the temporal and spiritual government of Milan became, for the second time, united in the person of

Giov. Visconte, Lord of Milan. 1349.

were the greatest merchants of Italy, and had lent to Edward III. of England 900,000 florins of gold. Villani, Lib. XI. c. 88.—Lib. XII. c. 55. He does not tell us at what interest; but in the next century, Antonio Sauli, a banker of Genoa, made a loan to Charles VIII. King of France, at 100 per cent.—See Philip de Comines, Liv. VII. Proposition.

[24] Giovanni Villani begins (Lib. XII c. 84.) to relate the plague, in which, however, he himself unfortunately perished. Matteo Villani, Lib. I. Prol.

[25] His severity induces Muratori to call him a Bear. His guards in his walks by day, and in his chamber by night, were savage dogs. Ann. 1340.—Parma was ceded to him by Obizzo d' Este in 1346.

a Visconte. But the signory of Milan now included many other cities: Giovanni was Lord of Lodi, Placentia, San Donnino, Parma, Crema, Brescia, Alessandria, Tortona, Bergamo, Novara, Como, Vercelli, Alba, Asti, and other places. To these ample possessions he added the town and territory of Bologna, which he purchased from Giovanni de' Pepoli, to the great mortification of the citizens. The Pope, naturally indignant at this sale of one of the principal papal states, excommunicated the archbishop; who, however, obtained the forgiveness of Clement by the timely application of a liberal gift. The censures were withdrawn; the title of Visconte was confirmed; and Giovanni da Oleggio, the reputed bastard of the Pope, was put in charge of the newly-purchased flock. The ambition of Giovanni Visconte next aimed at the possession of Florence; but that restless state, amidst all its internal disorders, succeeded in repulsing the enemy; and the lord of Milan was induced by prudential motives to enter into a pacific treaty with the Tuscans.[26] About the same time his power was encreased by the voluntary surrender of Genoa to his protection. But such an increase of dominion alarmed the other states of Lombardy; and to crush this Serpent (for such was the name which the family arms of the Visconti suggested) a formidable league was set on foot by Venice; including Aldovrandino, Lord of Ferrara and Mo-

He acquires Bologna; 1351.

And Genoa: 1353.

League against him; 1354.

[26] Mat. Villani, Lib. I. c. 76.—Lib. II. c. 4–46.—Lib. III. c. 59.—Sismondi, tom. VI. p. 54.

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dena; the Gonzaghi, Lords of Mantua and Reggio; the Carrara, Lords of Padua; and Cane Grande Scala, now Lord of Verona and Vicenza.[27]

His death.

On the death of Giovanni Visconte in 1354, Milan and Genoa submitted to the joint authority of the three sons of his brother Stefano; and the other states were divided among them. Matteo took possession of Lodi, Placentia, Parma, Bologna, and Bobbio; to Bernabò were assigned Bergamo, Brescia, and Cremona; and the remainder, with the Piedmontese cities, fell to Galeazzo the youngest.[28]

The occupation of the states of Romagna by the tyrants, and the bloody dissensions of the Colonna, Orsini, and Savelli in Rome, loudly called for the interference of Innocent VI. The Romans wearied of their noble rulers slew the senator Beltrando Orsino, and elected his secretary Francesco Baronelli their tribune. The Patrimony of St. Peter and much of the Roman territory were in the possession of Giovanni da Vico, who called himself prefect of Rome, and usurped the signory of Viterbo. To restore tranquillity and the authority of the holy see Innocent pitched upon the cardinal Albornoz, a Spaniard by birth; whose early military career and eminent talents recommended him as the most proper person to unite the characters of a general and a statesman.[29] With very ample

Cardinal Albornoz, legate in Italy. 1353.

[27] Mat. Villani, Lib. III. c. 79-94. [28] Ibid. Lib. IV. c. 25. 28.

[29] Don Gil de Albornoz claimed descent from the royal houses of Leon and Aragon: and though, when very young, he had been made archbishop of

powers Albornoz arrived in Italy: and at Montefiascone he opened a negociation with the Romans who were content to receive him as their *protector*, and willing to unite with him in reducing the prefect. Albornoz had brought with him from Avignon the once famous Cola di Rienzi; and he now resolved to restore him to his former authority with the Roman people. The murder of the tribune Baronelli at this juncture left Rome without a ruler, and Rienzi was received as Senator with the highest marks of honour and esteem.

Rienzi, Senator of Rome; 1354.

The people were relieved from the oppressions of the barons, who were themselves reduced to obedience; but the stern government of the senator soon made him obnoxious to the populace; and the seizure and execution of Montreal, the redoubted captain of a powerful troop of mercenaries, were attributed to the avarice, rather than the justice, of Rienzi.[30] The execution of their favourite the virtuous Pandolfuccio di Guido, and above all a tax imposed on wine, disgusted the citizens; and in an insurrection of the people the unfortunate Rienzi was besieged in the capitol, and driven out of his palace which was fired by the insurgents. In the disguise of a porter he was recognized by his enemies, and put to death by the exasperated multitude.[31] His second reign was short-lived like his

His murder.

Toledo, he greatly distinguished himself in several battles with the Moors, and in 1343 conducted the siege of Algezira. Mariana, Lib. XVI. cap. X. He was created cardinal by Clement VI. Sismondi, tom. VI. p. 193.

[30] Mat. Villani, Lib. IV. c. 23. [31] Mat. Villani, Lib. IV. c. 26.—Murat. Ann.

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first; but a remarkable contrast exists between his two elevations and falls. Originally raised by the voice of the people, the *tribune* Rienzi was degraded by the thunders of the Pope; a second time exalted by the papal legate, the *senator* was deposed and murdered by the people.[32]

Albornoz, recovers the states of the Church, 1355.

In the meantime cardinal Albornoz was successfully employed in restoring the states of the Church to the papal allegiance. The prefect of Rome was compelled to surrender; and Mogliano, Lord of Fermo, by a ready submission obtained the favour of the legate, who declared him Gonfalonier of the Church. But Mogliano, little worthy of this confidence and seduced by the persuasion of Malatesta of Rimini, deserted from the cardinal, the brightness of whose success was for a short time overclouded. The union of Malatesta and Francesco degli Ordelaffi, Lord of Forli, and the partial defeat of the papal army, promised new disasters; but the loss was soon retrieved by a victory over Galeotto, the brother of Malatesta; and in the second year of his expedition, the cardinal had recovered the Patrimony, the dutchy of Spoleto, the march of Ancona, and the greatest part of Romagna. Forli and Cesina for a time continued to hold out; the latter defended by Cia the wife of Ordelaffo, who disdaining the softness of her sex assumed the

[32] I have contented myself with this brief mention of Rienzi, whose rise, adventures, and death are described by Gibbon with more than his usual brilliancy. But for observations on the career of this extraordinary person, I may refer the reader to Hobhouse's Illustrations of Childe Harold, and Sismondi's Italian republics, chap. XXXVII.

armour of a hero, and displayed prodigies of valour.[33]

Rise and progress of the Condottieri. 1339-1362.

The troubles of Italy had been greatly augmented by the rise and progress of the Condottieri, an armed multitude of foreign robbers ranging over the country, now resorting to the most flagitious acts of pillage, and now courted and retained by the most considerable states. Amongst the evils which the Italians suffered by the visits of the German kings was the introduction of a numerous host of barbarians, who, not content with the ordinary plunder of the refractory cities, enriched themselves by a system of independent depredation.[34] This evil, however, became more alarming in the visit of Lewis of Bavaria, whose penury deprived his soldiers of their pay, and drove them to desert their sovereign. We have already observed their seizure and sale of Lucca; and the dispersion which thereby took place of the German garrison enabled the contending states to enlist these strangers in their ranks. But of all who encouraged this foreign soldiery, the most liberal patron was Mastino Scala, who is said to have entertained in his army four thousand German Lances.[35] The ill success of his

[33] Matt. Villani, Lib. IV. c. 9.–52.—Lib. V. c. 18-57.—Lib. VII. c. 34–69.

[34] Mat. Villani. Lib. c. 58-77.

[35] Murat. Ann. 1337.—A *Lance* included the man at arms, and four or five followers. When, therefore, we read of a thousand Lances, we must understand that there were a thousand men at arms, and about 4000 followers. The number of followers varied at different periods, and it seems the French were more numerous than the Italian. Hallam, vol. I. p. 492. note. Muratori (Ann. 1515.) thinks the number of horsemen included in a Lance rarely amounted to five; although Guicciardini (Lib. I. p. 89.) states them to have

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arms and the enormous expense of maintaining so vast a multitude at length compelled Mastino to disband his troops. But a new patron readily received them. Lodrisio, a turbulent member of the family of Visconti, anxious to complete the ruin of his cousin Azzo, relieved Mastino of his burdensome troops; and under him they enjoyed the double advantage of regular military pay and an unbounded license to pillage the country. To this band Lodrisio gave the title of "the Company of St. George;" and with them originated the first organized body who exercised the twofold capacity of robbers and soldiers. But this formidable power was extinguished almost as soon as formed; and the defeat of Lodrisio by Luchino Visconte was followed by his own incarceration and the dispersion of his mercenaries, many of whom enlisted under John, Marquis of Montferrat.[36] A still more formidable company was soon after collected; a motley group of horsemen and foot soldiers, accompanied by the profligate retainers of a lawless camp, put themselves under the command of a German called Werner, who assumed the title of Duke,[37] and terrified Tuscany by the enormity of his proceedings. Having pillaged that country and Ro-

I. Company of St. George. 1339.

II. Company of Werner. 1342-1351.

been six. Anquetil (Hist. de France, tom. V. p. 257.) has strangely overrated the number; for he makes 2500 Lances amount to 25,000 cavalry.—On a march, the man at arms bestrode a palfrey, whilst one of his attendants led his war-horse, which was reserved for the combat. The war-horse, from being led on the right hand of the squire, was called *Dextrarius*, whence the Italian word *Destriere*. Murat. Antiq. Ital. Diss. XXVI.

[36] Murat. Ann. 1342.

[37] Muratori calls him "Guarnieri, Duca di non so qual luogo in Germania."

magna they marched upon Bologna; and such was their force and dreadful reputation that Taddeo de' Pepoli, who then usurped the government, deemed it safer to purchase their departure than to risk an encounter. After enriching themselves with an ample harvest in the provinces of Modena, Reggio, and Mantua, the inhabitants of the several towns were happy to contribute the sum of ten thousand florins, in consideration of which the company agreed to separate; and many returned to Germany laden with spoil, whilst others enlisted in the ranks of the Italian princes.[38] The first expedition of Lewis, King of Hungary, into Naples offered to Werner a fit occasion for the renewal of his services; and upon the retreat of the king into his dominions the robber-duke collected a second company, who distinguished themselves by their ravages in the Neapolitan states and the Campagna of Rome, and by their massacre of the inhabitants of Anagni.[39] Werner next hired himself and his murderous rabble to Francesco Ordelaffo, Lord of Forli, who with the Manfredi, Lords of Faenza, was threatened by the arms of the Pope's legate. But a more advantageous offer being made by Jacopo de' Pepoli, he passed over to assist in the defence of Bologna. On the sale of that city to Giovanni Visconte, the Germans were retained by Mastino dalla Scala; and their leader thenceforth ceased to figure in the annals of Italy.[40]

[38] Murat. Ann. 1343.

[39] Murat. Ann. 1348.

[40] Murat. Ann. 1350, 1351.

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III. Company of Montreal. 1352-1354.

A new captain and a new banditti speedily presented themselves. Walter de Montreal, a gentleman of Provence and a knight of St. John of Jerusalem, who had served in Naples under the King of Hungary, collected some thousands of hired ruffians, and filled all Italy with his predatory fame. By a well-organized system of plunder the chief and his soldiers were rapidly enriched; and his forces were continually augmented by others attracted by his success and reputation.[41] After levying vast contributions in the march of Tuscany, Montreal betook himself to Rome; where he fell a sacrifice to the justice or suspicion of the senator Rienzi, and expiated his crimes by a public execution.[42]

IV. Company of Lando. 1354.

The next conductor of a foreign force was Count Lando, a German; who commanding a large company became the ally of Francesco Carrara and the confederate princes. He was joined by the German mercenaries of Naples, whom Johanna and her husband Lewis were glad to dismiss as an intolerable burthen. Lando successively led them under the banners of the Estensi and Gonzaghi, the Marquis of Montferrat, and Ordelaffo, Lord of Forli: their numbers were swelled by a crowd of hungry followers and dissolute women; but their

[41] Sismondi, tom. VI. p. 183.—He is called by the Italian historians *Frà Moriale*, and his troopers, *Barbuti*.

[42] Mat. Villani, Lib. III. c. 89.—Lib. IV. c. 23.—Murat. Ann. 1352-1354.—Gibbon is mistaken in saying that Montreal's was the *first* company that devastated Italy. See vol. XII. p. 361. n. 54.—He was led into this error by Villani, notwithstanding the warning voice of Muratori.

strength is reported to have consisted of at least three thousand fighting men. Their sole object being gain, and Albornoz having amassed large sums by the sale of pardons, he purchased the retreat of Lando and his company from the papal states, for fifty thousand florins.

V. Sir John Hawkwood's White Company. 1362.

But the fame of these predatory captains was eclipsed by that of Sir John Hawkwood,[43] an English knight, who appeared a little later in Italy at the head of a body of adventurers, composed chiefly of his countrymen, and denominated "the White Company."[44] After being hired and dismissed by the Marquis of Montferrat, the new banditti were invited by the Pisans, whose ancient rivalry with Florence had again precipitated them into a war.[45] The English were on this occasion reinforced by a large troop of Germans; and the superior offers of Florence soon drew over many of these mercenaries. The two states were for the present spared the misery of a contest by a hollow

[43] The undoubted name of the English bandit was Hawkwood:—Muratori assures us that the English called him *Kauchouod*, and the Tuscans, *Aguto*; he, however, thinks it safest to denominate him *Aucud*. Ann. 1364. —Rapin (Liv. X.), though usually more correct than his countrymen in English names, calls him *Thomas Hackwood*; and Paulus Jovius (Lib. XI.) styles him Johannes Aucuthus.—Hawkwood died in 1395 in the service of Florence, and obtained a splendid funeral.

[44] Probably from the white skins of the English, which the swarthy nations of the south affected to despise. Thus Cervantes makes Scipio say,

> En las *blancas* delicadas manos
> Y en las teces de rostros tan lustrosos
> Allá en Bretaña pareceis criados.
>
> Numancia, Jorn. I. Esc. I.

[45] Mat. Villani, Lib. XI. c. 2–48.

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reconciliation:[46] the rest of Tuscany was, however, doomed to reap the bitter harvest of their enmity: and a vast horde of English, French, German, Hungarian, and Burgundian adventurers was let loose upon the country. The refuse of the Italian population, encouraged by the hope of plunder, united themselves with the strangers, and carried devastation and murder wherever they appeared. Siena and Perugia soon felt the scourge of irregular warfare; and enormous sums of money were extorted from the citizens, to rescue them from still greater losses at the hands of these unwelcome visitors.

Such were the famous Condottieri whose rise and progress belongs to the fourteenth century. Not to Italy alone was this predatory warfare confined; Germany, France, and the neighbouring nations, felt the infliction; and the Popes of Avignon were often startled in the recesses of their palace by the tumultuous approach of the terrible marauders.[47]

[46] Filippo Villani, Lib. XI. c. 102.

[47] Froissart,—vol. I. c. 177.—vol. II. c. 78—and see Muratori, Antiq. Ital. Dissert. XVI.

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FIRST EXPEDITION OF CHARLES IV. INTO ITALY.

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Charles sets out for Italy. 1354.

Visits Milan. 1355.

At the close of 1354 Charles entered Italy poorly attended; and, having interchanged amicable messages with the Visconti, arrived at Milan early in the ensuing year. The brothers welcomed him with the tumult of a camp rather than with festivity. Though they affected the utmost loyalty and respect, Galeazzo and Bernabò detained him captive within the walls; and by an ostentatious display of their military force took care to impress upon him the prudence of amicable measures. After receiving the Iron crown[1] he was permitted to depart for Rome, whither the Pope had despatched his legate; but he was surrounded with armed men until he reached the limits of the Milanese territory; and he then hurried on towards Pisa, "like a trader hastening to a fair."[2] His reception, however, in Pisa was very different from that in Milan; he was met upon the road by a multitude of citizens, who

Pisa.

[1] Matteo Villani states that his coronation was performed at Monza; but Muratori produces the authority of several writers to shew that it took place in the church of St. Ambrose at Milan.

[2] Come mercatante ch' andasse in fretta alla fiera. Mat. Villani, Lib. IV. c. 39.

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conducted him with acclamations into the city; and after paying his devotions in the cathedral, he was escorted to the palace of the Gambacorti.[3]

This auspicious reception was quickly followed by violence and confusion. Pisa was at this time divided into two factions, the Bergolini and the Matraversi. At the head of the republic was the Conservator Franceschino Gambacorta, attached to the former party; and the Matraversi were eager to avail themselves of the presence of Charles, to compass the downfal of their opponent. On the day after his arrival, the King summoned the citizens to take the oath of allegiance; and the Matraversi now broke out into shouts of "The Emperor and liberty! Death to the conservator!" The people excited by the tumult ran to arms, and Charles was compelled to interfere in person to allay the general commotion. Gambacorta, anxious to conciliate the sovereign, invested him with the signory of the city and the administration of the finances, and gave up possession of the gates of Pisa to the followers of Charles.[4] The citizens, who beheld themselves committed to the custody of German guards, immediately began to repent their ill-timed discord; and the rival parties agreed to suspend their animosity, to choose twelve from each party for the reform of the government, and at once to throw themselves upon the generosity of their new master. Charles, in no condition to secure his prize, affected to approve their amicable adjustment; and re-

[3] Mat. Villani, c. 44. [4] Mat. Villani, c. 48.—Sismondi, tom. VI. p. 220.

luctantly withdrew the guards from the gates, and the charge of them was resumed by the citizens.[5]

During his residence in Pisa, Charles received the ambassadors of the several Tuscan states, who deemed it prudent to procure his favour; and the Sienese particularly distinguished themselves by the servile tone in which they addressed him as their Emperor, and offered him the signory of their city. But Florence, on the other hand, though she approached him with respect, avoided every expression which might savour of dependence, and even offended Charles and his courtiers by the unbending firmness with which she claimed the maintenance of her liberties. The Ghibellins, believing their cause strengthened by the King's arrival, diligently paid their court, and the chiefs vied with each other in the magnificence of their apparel and appointments. But Charles was too intent upon his own interests to heed those of the Ghibellins; and Florence, notwithstanding her enemies' exhortations for her depression, alone reaped advantage from his journey into Tuscany.[6] The money of the Florentines was the surest key to unlock the heart of Charles; and the sordid Bohemian entered into a negociation for the sale of privileges and immunities. The malice of the Ghibellins, the submission of the neighbouring states, and the increasing armament of the Germans, alarmed the government of Florence; and it was resolved to set apart a hundred thousand florins of gold to secure their

Negociation with Florence.

[5] Mat. Villani, Lib. IV. c 51.

[6] Mat. Villani, Lib. IV. c. 54. 61. 62.

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independence. They determined, however, in the first instance to offer only half that sum; but treachery having revealed that the larger price was within his grasp, Charles affected to disregard their offer and even threatened the city with destruction. But fearful of losing his money by too obstinate a resistance, he at length came to terms with the ambassadors: he agreed to annul every sentence and condemnation pronounced by his predecessors against the city, the citizens, and subjects of Florence; and to restore every one to his honours, privileges, and possessions: he consented that the Florentines should be governed by their own municipal laws and ordinances; and confirmed all statutes then in force, or thereafter to be enacted, provided they were not repugnant to general law: he constituted the present and future Priors of the Arts and Gonfaloniers of Justice his vicars during his life; and further to preserve tranquillity, he promised not to enter Florence, or any of its walled possessions. In return, the Florentines bound themselves for the payment of a hundred thousand florins of gold within five months by four instalments; of an annual sum of four thousand florins; and of all other dues payable by the state to the Empire.[7]

Having concluded this bargain, and being joined by his Queen and a large body of German nobles, he quitted Pisa; and passing through Volterra arrived at Siena, where, at the instance of the people,

[7] Mat. Villani, Lib. IV. c. 66–76.

he abolished the government of the *Nine*. He arrived at Rome the day before Good-Friday, and entered the city privately, devoting Friday and Sunday to visiting the several churches in the habit of a pilgrim unknown and unnoticed. Before day-break on Easter-Monday he quitted Rome, and after sunrise made his public entry, being met by the Romans in solemn procession.[8] On his arrival at St. Peter's he was there consecrated by the Pope's legate, the cardinal of Ostia, and crowned with the imperial crown by the Prefect. He himself then crowned the Empress. This ceremony performed, the imperial train visited the Lateran; and the Emperor immediately afterwards withdrew from Rome pursuant to his compact with the Pope, to the no small surprise of the Romans.

Charles crowned Emperor at Rome.

On returning to Siena, he found that city still in commotion, and appeased the disorder by creating a signory of twelve citizens, with his bastard brother, the patriarch of Aquileia, at the head of the government; who, however, was deposed as soon as Charles had quitted the city. The residue of his sojourn in Italy was a series of new humiliations. A report that he had been bribed by the Lucchese to release them from the power of Pisa occasioned an insurrection in that city; and the citizens broke out into a sedition which endangered his personal safety.[9] In his return through Lombardy, the Visconti shut their gates against him; and the Emperor of the West with difficulty obtained leave

[8] Mat. Villani, Lib. IV. c. 81-92.

[9] Mat. Villani, Lib. V. c. 2-36.

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to rest one night in Cremona, and that only on condition of dismissing his armed followers. Hurrying through the north, he re-entered Germany covered with shame and dishonour; but consoling himself with the ample sums he had extorted from the indignant Italians.[10]

He returns to Germany.

The abrupt departure of the Emperor, and the protracted absence of the Popes at Avignon, left the Visconti at leisure to carry on their ambitious designs; and the eldest, Matteo, dying at this juncture, his estates were divided between his surviving brothers.[11] On the other hand, the Lombard princes strengthened their league against the power of Milan, and their own subjects appeared anxious to depress the authority of the Visconti. Giovanni da Oleggio, disgusted by the duplicity of Bernabò, revolted from him, and seized the city of Bologna as an independent state.[12] Galeazzo, having incurred the resentment of John II. Marquis of Montferrat, was by him deprived of Asti, Alba, Novara, and a great portion of his Piedmontese possessions; whilst the Genoese, revolting from the yoke they had themselves courted, asserted their liberty, setting up their former Doge Simone Boccanegra.[13] Pavia, however, soon afterwards fell into the hands of the Visconti; and Bologna was only saved from again becoming their prey, by Oleggio, her lord,

The Visconti lose Bologna; 1356.

Asti, &c.

and Genoa.

They acquire Pavia. 1359.

[10] Mat. Villani, Lib. V. c. 54.

[11] Mat. Villani accuses these brothers of having poisoned Matteo (or Maffiolo.) Lib. V. c. 81.

[12] Mat. Villani, Lib. V. c. 12.

[13] Mat. Villani, Lib. VI. c. 3.—Lib. VII. c. 40. Sismondi, tom. VI. p. 279.

surrendering the city to the papal legate Albornoz in exchange for the signory of Fermo.[14] But though the wrath of Bernabò breathed open defiance to the Pope, prudence compelled him to dissemble: and finding a new league of the Lombard princes ready to support Albornoz, he contrived to purchase peace by relinquishing his claims on Bologna.[15]

[14] Mat. Villani, Lib. VIII. c. 103.—Lib. IX. c. 55–76.

[15] Mat. Villani, Lib. X. c. 49–99.—Filippo Villani, Lib. XI. c. 64.

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THE GOLDEN BULL. SECOND EXPEDITION OF CHARLES INTO ITALY. HIS DEATH.

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THE languid reign of Charles IV., were its history confined to his northern dominions, might altogether fail to excite our interest. The annals of this prince, who left no means untried to accumulate wealth, contain little else than a series of bargains, by which cities, nobles, and private individuals were advanced in rank and importance in return for bribes and donations; and the general welfare of the Empire was forgotten by the Emperor in his eagerness to enrich his House and aggrandise his paternal kingdom. One remarkable law, however, emanated from him, which principally concerned the imperial election; and though it displays a puerile love of pageants and ceremony, it had the beneficial effect of setting at rest the disputes among the Electors, where the same vote was contested by the several members of the same house. The celebrity of this institute, which from the seal of gold attached to the original copies, has obtained the title of the "Golden Bull," induces

The Golden Bull. 1356.

me minutely to examine its enactments, more especially as it serves in a great degree to illustrate the spirit of the times. It was first promulgated by Charles in the year after his return from Italy in a diet at Nuremberg, six other clauses being afterwards added in a diet at Metz.[1]

After a solemn invocation of the Trinity, a reprobation of the seven deadly sins, and a pointed allusion to the seven candlesticks and the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, the Golden Bull proceeds to the subject of the imperial election. It provides, in the first place, for the safe conduct of the seven Electors to and from Frankfort on the Maine, which is fixed as the place of election; it directs the Archbishop of Mentz to summon the Electors upon the death of the Emperor, and regulates the manner in which their proxies are to be appointed; it enjoins the citizens of Frankfort to protect the assembled Electors; and forbids them to admit any stranger into the city during the election.

Cap. I. Place of election.

It next prescribes the form of oath to be taken by the Electors; forbids them to quit the city before the completion of the election; and after thirty days restricts their diet to bread and water. A majority of votes is to decide the election; and in case any Elector obtain three votes, his own vote is to be taken in his favour.

Cap. II. Form of election.

The precedence of the Electors is thus settled: first, the Archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, and Treves: then the King of Bohemia, the Count

Cap. III. IV. Precedence of Electors.

[1] Struvius, p. 628.

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Their Offices.

Palatine, the Duke of Saxony,[2] and the Marquis of Brandenburg. The Elector of Treves is to vote first; then the Elector of Cologne; then the secular Electors; and the Elector of Mentz is finally to collect the votes, and deliver his own. The Elector of Cologne is to perform the coronation. At all feasts, the Margrave of Brandenburg, as grand Chamberlain, is to present the Emperor with water to wash: the King of Bohemia, as Cup-bearer, is to offer the goblet of wine: the Count Palatine, as grand Steward, is to set the first dish on table: and the Duke of Saxony is to officiate as grand Marshal.[3]

Cap. V. VIII. XI. Their exclusive jurisdiction.

Cap. VI. Their pre-eminence.

The Count Palatine and the Duke of Saxony are declared vicars of the Empire, during the vacancy of the throne. An exclusive jurisdiction is guaranteed to the Electors; and their precedence over all other princes of Germany is enforced.

Cap. VII. To whom the votes descend.

The right of voting is vested in the eldest son of a deceased elector, provided he have obtained the age of eighteen; and during the minority, the guardianship and vote are vested in the next kinsman of the deceased. If one of the lay-electorates become vacant by default of heirs, it shall revert to the Emperor, and be by him disposed of; Bohemia excepted, where the vacancy is to be supplied by the ancient mode of election.

[2] That is the Duke of Saxe-Wittenberg, in contradistinction to the Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg.

[3] By a subsequent clause (27), the Count of Falkenstein is made Vice-Chamberlain; the Count of Nortemberg, Vice-Steward, or Master of the kitchen; the Count of Limburg, Vice-Cupbearer; and the Count of Pappenheim, Vice-Marshal.

The Electors are invested with the possession of all mines discovered within their respective territories. They are authorized to give refuge to the Jews, and to receive dues payable within their States. They are also privileged to coin money; and to purchase lands, subject to the feudal rights of the sovereign.

Cap. IX. X. Privileges of the Electors.

A yearly assembly of the Electors, in one of the imperial cities, is enjoined.

Cap. XII. Yearly assembly.

All privileges granted to any city or community prejudicial to the rights of the Electors are revoked. All fraudulent resignations of fiefs by vassals, with intent to attack their lords, are declared void. All leagues, associations, and confederacies, not sanctioned by law, are made punishable by fine: and all burgesses and subjects of princes and nobles are to adhere to their original subjection, and not to claim any rights or exemptions as burgesses of any city unless actually domiciled therein.[4]

Cap. XIII. XIV. XV. The rights of Electors protected.

Cap. XVI. Pfahlburgers.

Challenges, with design of destroying another's property, or committing any outrage, are prohibited; and all challenges are to be given three days before the onset.

Cap. XVII. Public peace.

The forms of summoning Electors, and of their delegation of proxies, are laid down. And the right of voting, as well as all other rights, is declared inseparably incident to the electoral principality.

Cap. XVIII. XIX. Summons, and Proxies.

Cap. XX. Vote to follow possession of principality.

[4] Heiss (tom. II. p. 368) remarks that the German jurists are not agreed upon the true meaning of this article. I shall shortly have occasion to allude more particularly to these Pfahlburgers.

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Cap. XXI. XXII. XXIII. Imperial ensigns, &c.

On grand occasions, the Duke of Saxony is to carry the sword; the Count Palatine, the globe; the Margrave of Brandenburg, the sceptre. In celebrating mass before the Emperor, the benedictions are to be pronounced by the senior spiritual Elector present.

Cap. XXIV. Conspiracy against the Electors, treason.

All persons conspiring against the lives of the Electors are declared guilty of lese-majesty, and shall forfeit their lives and possessions. The lives of their sons, *though justly forfeited,* are spared only by the particular bounty of the Emperor: but they are declared incapable of holding any property, honour, or dignity, and doomed to perpetual poverty. The daughters are permitted to enjoy one fourth of their mother's succession.

Cap. XXV. Principalities indivisible.

The secular principalities, Bohemia, the Palatinate, the Dutchy of Saxony, and the Margraviate of Brandenburg, are declared indivisible and entire, descendible in the male line.

Cap. XXVI. Attendance of the Electors.

Cap. XXVII. XXVIII. Ceremonial observances.

On all solemn occasions the Electors shall attend the Emperor, and the Arch-chancellors shall carry their seals. And the Bull then proceeds minutely to point out the manner in which the Electors are to exercise their ministerial functions at the imperial banquet; and regulates the order and disposition of the imperial and electoral tables. Frankfort is again declared as the place of election; Aix-la-Chapelle, of coronation; and Nuremberg, for holding the first royal court.

Cap. XXIX. Exemption from fees, &c.

The Electors are exempted from all payments on receiving their fiefs from their sovereign. But

other princes are to pay certain fees, &c. to the imperial officers.

Cap. XXX. Electors' sons to learn Latin, Italian, and Sclavonic.

Lastly, The secular Electors are enjoined to instruct their sons in the Latin, Italian, and Sclavonic tongues.[5]

This famous PRAGMATIC SANCTION was finally promulgated in the Diet of Metz in 1356. On that occasion the Emperor and Empress feasted, in the presence of the Dauphin Charles V. and the legate of Pope Innocent VI., with all the pageantry and ceremonies prescribed by the new ordinances. The imperial tables were spread in the grand square of the city; Rodolph, Duke of Saxe-Wittenberg, attended with a silver measure of oats, and marshalled the order of the company: Lewis II. Margrave of Brandenburg, presented to the Emperor the golden basin, with water and fair napkins: Rupert, Count Palatine, placed the first dish upon the table: and the Emperor's brother, Wenceslaus, representing the King of Bohemia, officiated as cup-bearer.

[5] Voltaire (Annales de l'Empire) remarks that the exclusion of the Dukes of Bavaria and Austria from the number of Electors shews Charles IV. to have been no friend to those two houses.—It must have escaped him that when the Golden Bull was promulgated two of the Electors were members of the House of Bavaria, viz. Rupert, Count Palatine, and Lewis, Margrave of Brandenburg. With respect to Austria, that house rose into consideration long after the number of electoral votes had been restricted to *seven*; and the Bull did not affect to alter the *number* of votes, but only to lop off excrescent *voters*. Vide ante, p. 456. One object of this Golden Bull was to silence the pretensions of the Dukes of Saxe-Lauenburg and Bavaria to the elective vote; and afterwards Eric, Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg, claiming the right of voting, Charles IV. by a Bull dated Frankfort June, 1376, settled it permanently in the Dukes of Saxe-Wittenberg. Art de vérif. les Dates, tom. III. p. 413.

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Lastly, the Princes of Schwartzburg and the deputy-huntsman came with three hounds amidst the loud din of horns, and carried up a stag and a boar to the table of the Emperor.[6]

Urban V. 1362-1370.

In the year 1362 died Pope Innocent VI. and was succeeded by Urban V. Abbot of St. Victor at Marseilles; and the Romans again renewed their entreaties that the papal court should be restored to Italy. The Emperor was now invited by the new Pope to Avignon; and the visit of Charles to Urban excited the curiosity of Europe. The restoration of the holy see to Rome, the reformation of the German clergy, and the depression of the Visconti, were in turn suggested as the object of the conference: but the real views of the parties were kept profoundly secret. Charles took this occasion to revive the almost forgotten kingdom of Arles, and was crowned King of Arles and Burgundy by the archbishop.[7] Soon after this visit the Italians were cheered by the announcement of Urban's intention to bring back the holy see to Rome; and the French cardinals heard with deep regret the mandate which tore them from their splendid palaces and the luxuries of Avignon to a dreary city to which they were strangers, and about which no generous associations taught them to care. The Pope landed at Genoa on the 23d of

Charles IV. visits Avignon. 1365.

Charles crowned King of Arles.

Urban V. removes from Avignon. 1367.

[6] The ceremony (as Gibbon observes) is given by Struvius, p. 629. note (96.) But Gibbon has placed the imperial ablution at the end, instead of the beginning, of the feast. Vol. IX. p. 215.

[7] Struvius, p. 633—Pfeffel, p. 529.

May 1367 amidst the shouts of innumerable spectators, whose white garments denoted the auspiciousness of the day. At Corneto he was met by Albornoz; but at Viterbo had the misfortune to lose that zealous and talented servant. In the latter city, he received a solemn embassy from the Romans, who proffered to him the signory of the city, laid at his feet the keys of the Castle of St. Angelo, and cordially invited him to Rome. The arrival of Nicolò, Marquis of Este,. quieted the fears of the papal court, which were excited by a seditious mutiny in Viterbo; and under the protection of that nobleman Urban hastened onwards to Rome. The princes of Romagna, the ambassadors of Naples, Hungary, and Germany, and the Roman clergy and people, flocked to join the sacred procession; and amidst the joyful demonstrations of a countless multitude, the successor of St. Peter once more rested in the Vatican.[8]

He arrives in Rome.

The paternal care of Urban was forthwith directed to the fallen glories of Rome; and to the arduous attempt at quieting the distracted cities of Tuscany. Dismal, indeed, was the state of the capital. The monuments of ancient days were a heap of ruins;[9] the churches decayed; the palaces abandoned; the houses tottering; and all presenting

[8] Murat. Ann. 1367.

[9] The progressive decay and ruin of the *ancient* city are minutely traced in Hobhouse's Illustrations of Childe Harolde, p. 91–168; and some errors in Gibbon's splendid seventy-first chapter are there pointed out. The first line of that chapter, "In the last days of Pope Eugenius the fourth," must be corrected to "last days of Pope Martin the fifth."

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a melancholy testimony of the forlorn widowhood of the illustrious city. Afar off, Siena and Perugia in deadly conflict delivered up each other and themselves to the ravages of the foreign banditti; whilst the suspicious conduct of the Visconti compelled the Pope himself to maintain an army composed of various nations.[10] A new host of strangers was also introduced by the Emperor, who had determined upon a second expedition into Italy; and with an army of Bohemians, Poles, and Sclavonians was now on his way to Rome.

Second expedition of Charles IV. into Italy; 1368.

It might have been well supposed that this second journey of Charles had been the result of the conference at Avignon; and that the multitude of his troops would be directed to the reduction of the Visconti. Gold, however, was far dearer to him than glory; and in Mantua he entered into a negociation with the brothers, which terminated in his receiving a bribe and disbanding great part of his army. Through Modena and Bologna he proceeded into Tuscany, and received from Agnello, Doge of Pisa, the signory of Lucca. Pisa now availed herself of the protracted absence of Agnello in Lucca (who was detained in consequence of the fracture of his thigh), to throw off his yoke; and Charles proceeded to levy contributions on the Pisans, over whom he placed Walter, Bishop of Augsburg. After inviting, receiving, and declining, the defiance of Florence, he betook himself to Siena; where he also prevailed upon the people to

His mercenary dealings.

[10] Murat. Ann. ub. sup.

advance him a sum of money, and to redeem the imperial crown, which he had pawned to Florence for sixteen hundred and twenty florins. After the coronation of his fourth wife Isabella by the Pope (whose bridle he held in the procession from the Castle of St. Angelo to St. Peter's), Charles hurried back to Siena, where his presence only encreased the distraction of the city. Finding little security among the people, he received another bribe to quit them; and whilst in Lucca he contrived to extort money from Florence as the price of peace. The Lucchese next dealt with him for their independence, and purchased their delivery by one instalment of money paid down to the imperial merchant, and the promise of the residue at a future day, until which he stipulated for the residence of Cardinal de Montfort in the city, as imperial governor. After these profitable dealings, he set forward with his money and empress to Germany, leaving behind him no very exalted reputation among the rifled people of Italy.[11]

Return of Charles into Germany. 1369.

Urban had little reason to complain of his reception in Rome. He had been visited by Johanna, Queen of Naples; by Peter, King of Cyprus, who submissively kissed his feet; and John Palæologus, the Emperor of the East, had knelt before him, and voluntarily abjuring the errors of his national faith, recognized the supreme authority of the Pope in the Church of Christ.[12] The Perugians, indeed,

[11] Murat. Ann. 1368. 1369.—Sismondi, tom. VII. c. 43.

[12] Gibbon, vol. XII. p. 74.

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had ventured to revolt; but they were with little difficulty reduced to submission. The Romans were unusually obedient, and the ecclesiastical state enjoyed the blessings of peace, and was rapidly recovering from the wounds of protracted discord. Yet all these considerations were insufficient to outweigh the earnest expostulations of the cardinals who panted for the secure debaucheries of Avignon. Urban withdrew from Rome under pretence of seeking, for a time, the more salubrious air of Montefiascone; but at Viterbo his followers were delighted by the avowal of his intention to return to Provence. In vain were predictions, entreaties, and denunciations poured forth by the Italians; Urban completed his removal; and the superstitious were gratified with the fulfilment of their prophetic warnings, when they learned that his death had taken place shortly after his arrival at Avignon. He was succeeded by Cardinal Pierre Roger, a nephew of Clement VI. who had obtained a high reputation by his learning; and was otherwise well qualified to fill the Popedom.

Urban returns to Avignon, and dies. 1370.

Gregory XI. 1370-1378.

The double retreat of Emperor and Pope again left the field open to the Visconti, and Lombardy and Piedmont were quickly in a flame. At the instigation of Bernabò, Hawkwood's company had continued to ravage the territories of Pisa and Florence. A league was once more set on foot against the turbulent brothers; Pope Gregory XI. lent the assistance of his spiritual and temporal weapons; and Hawkwood renounced the friend-

Renewed confusion in Lombardy. 1370.

ship of Bernabò, and joined the confederate forces. I willingly hurry over the fields of carnage and the miserable vestiges of the mercenary allies, the confusion of undecisive battles, the momentary victory, the partial defeat, the treacherous stratagem, the merciless vengeance. The exhausted combatants were at length rejoiced to seal a truce. Yet at the very moment when the glad tidings of peace were about to refresh Italy, a new explosion burst forth, and the hope of tranquillity appeared more distant than ever. Florence resenting an aggression by William de Noellet, the cardinal-legate, declared war against the Pope; and by her example and excitation the spirit of rebellion raged through Bologna and the states of the Church.[13] The iron rule of the papal deputies, the scandalous lives and extortions of the clergy, were urged in vindication of revolt; and the cities of Lombardy now united in a league against the priesthood headed by Bernabò Visconte, and supported by the Queen of Naples.

Revolt of the States of the Church. 1374.

League against the clergy. 1375.

This afflicting result of the absence of the Popes from Italy probably produced a more striking effect on the mind of Gregory than the laudable exhortations of St. Catherine of Siena for a return to Rome. After the necessary preparations the papal court once more passed the Alps; and the Romans were again gladdened by the presence of

Gregory XI. removes to Rome. 17th Jan. 1377.

[13] Viterbo, Montefiascone, Foligno, Spoleto, Todi, Ascoli, Orvieto, Toscanella, Orta, Narni, Camerino, Urbino, Radicofani, Sarteano, and Forli. See Sismondi, tom. VII. p. 76.

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a Pontiff. But the habits of these uncontrouled citizens had been too long formed to discord and confusion to preserve a lasting tranquillity; and Gregory began to regret the quiet and pleasures of Avignon. He diligently laboured to restore a general peace, and despatched his ambassadors to Sarzana, where the leaders of the league were assembled in pacific deliberation. In the midst of their discussions the death of Gregory XI. suspended the treaty, and the chiefs retired to their own dominions to await the election of a new Pope. The age of this Pontiff (for he was but forty-seven at the time of his death) might have assured a term of life sufficiently long for the exercise of his great qualities; but his constitution was naturally feeble, and he survived his return to Rome only fourteen months.

27th March 1378.

On the 7th of April sixteen cardinals entered the conclave; eleven French, one Spaniard, and four Italians were then in Rome; six others lingered in Avignon. The accidental striking of the building by lightning on that very day was a gloomy prelude to their proceedings; but from the violence of the tumultuous Romans greater dangers might be anticipated. The French cardinals, intent upon restoring the court to their own country, debated on the plan of removal; whilst the people from without, suspecting their intentions, cried aloud for a Roman as their Pontiff. A more decent address from the magistrates besought the sacred college to elect a Roman, or at least an Italian; and the

Frenchmen alarmed by the threats of the populace changed the course of their counsels, and abandoned for the present the resolution to elect one of their own nation. Passing over their Italian brethren they ventured to steer a middle course, and by nominating Bartolomeo, Archbishop of Bari, a Neapolitan by birth, they satisfied the demands of the magistrates for an Italian, yet still kept alive the French interest by exalting the subject of the house of Anjou. Afraid, however, of notifying their choice to the people they still continued in the conclave, until the impatient multitude forced their way into the assembly in the mistaken belief that a Roman cardinal had been elected. The terrified Frenchmen sought refuge in the Castle of St. Angelo and other fortresses of Rome; and the archbishop was left to notify his own election to the senators and people. Peace was now restored; the cardinals ventured to appear from their lurking-places; and the new Pope was crowned in St. Peter's, by the title of Urban VI.

Urban VI. Pope. 1378–1389.

As the season advanced the heat of Rome afforded the French cardinals a plausible excuse for retiring to Anagni; where, left to the free exercise of their designs, they proceeded to declare the election of Urban invalid, and prevailed on the Spaniard[14] and the three Italians (for one of the four was dead) to join them at Fondi. Supported by the secret connivance of Charles V. King of France and Johanna, Queen of Naples, they ex-

Clement VII. Antipope. 1378-1394.

[14] The Spaniard was Pedro de Luna, afterwards Benedict XIII.

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communicated Urban as an usurper; and elected Cardinal Robert of Geneva,[15] who assumed the title of Clement VII. Thus deserted by his cardinals Urban, who had already offered to submit his election to a general council, nominated twenty-nine new cardinals, of whom, however, three declined the intended dignity. Clement and his electors were excommunicated as rebels to the holy see; and thus commenced the memorable division in the Church usually called *The Great Schism of the West.*[16]

Shortly after the election of Clement Charles terminated his ignominious reign. He had employed his ill-gotten wealth in bribing the venal electors to nominate his son Wenceslaus King of the Romans; and by meanly soliciting the confirmation of the Pope had violated the letter of the Declaration of Frankfort. The year preceding his death, though suffering severely from the gout, he accomplished a journey to Paris, partly to fulfil a vow to St. Maur, and partly to see his nephew Charles V. then engaged in a war with the English. The Emperor on this occasion created the young Dauphin Charles his vicar-general in the kingdom of Arles and in Dauphiny;[17] and a variety of

Wenceslaus elected King of the Romans. 1376.

Charles visits Paris; 1377.

[15] He had the votes of all, except the three Italians.

[16] Murat. Ann. 1354–1378.—Giannone, Lib. XXIII. c. 4.—Dupin, vol. XII. c. 4.—Froissart (vol. II. c. 57) interposes a short-lived pope between Gregory and Urban, whom I do not find mentioned by any other writer.

[17] Dauphiny was ceded to John (afterwards King of France) in 1343 by the Dauphin, Humbert II. on condition that thenceforward the eldest son of the Kings of France should bear the title of Dauphin. Dauphiny, however, was still considered a fief of the Empire.

ceremonies and banquets evinced the love of the French monarch and nobles for splendid dresses and stately entertainments.[18] On his return to Prague the Emperor was seized with an illness which warned him of his approaching end: he therefore divided his estates between his three sons; to Wenceslaus he gave Bohemia and Silesia; to Sigismund, the margraviate of Brandenburg; and to the youngest John, Lusatia and the dutchy of Schweidnitz. He expired on the 29th of November 1378, at the age of sixty-three after a reign of thirty-one years.[19]

His Death; 1378.

The character of Charles presents little worthy his high destination. With good talents and the advantage of being educated at Paris, he had considerable taste for literature and was versed in the Latin, Italian, French, and German, languages. He had the merit of founding and fostering the University of Prague, and he delighted to beautify that capital of his native kingdom. He granted to the Bohemians the right of choosing their king on failure of his own family; and thus shut out succeeding Emperors from claiming, on a vacancy, one of the great fiefs of the Empire.[20] He purchased from his father-in-law, the Elector Palatine, a great portion of the Upper Palatinate, which he annexed to Bohemia; he added also the circle of Egra; and

And character.

1348.

[18] Père Daniel, tom. VI. p. 116.; and see the particulars minutely detailed in the observations of the editors of the Paris edition, 1755.

[19] Pfeffel, p. 535.—Struvius, p. 643.

[20] Struvius, p. 641. 642.

LONDON:
WILLIAM NICOL, SHAKSPEARE PRESS, PALL MALL.

00031914

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 10 February, 2016